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18 April 1985

# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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18 April 1985

## EAST EUROPE REPORT

### POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SFRY JOURNAL VIEWS SIGNS OF CHANGE IN ALBANIA

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian 17 Mar 85 pp 46-48

[Article by Zvonko Simic: "My People, My Party!"]

[Text] Radio Tirana recently broadcast a letter to Enver Hoxha from a party committee in the provinces. Hoxha is referred to in the letter as the "eternal leader of the party and people."

It should not be assumed that the authors of the letter overlooked certain basic biological laws, which is the way it seems at first. They probably assume that Albania, even when its leader leaves the scene, will continue--from here to eternity--to follow his ideas about how the country should look and how the world should look. Those ideas are well known. Albania is to remain isolated so as not to be infected with revisionism, decadent music, stylish clothing, mustaches and beards, cosmopolitanism, contraceptives and demands of the population for material goods.... In short, the isolated Albanian island in the middle of a changing world is not to be infected with freedom.

Telegram From Tirana

But certain processes simply cannot be halted even in Albania, or at least only temporarily. There is no doubt that even Albania is changing, slowly, piecemeal, involuntarily, sluggishly--but nevertheless! Certain little signs are interesting.

Immediately after the war a young Yugoslav woman, let us call her Mira X., fell in love with a member of the Albanian diplomatic mission in Belgrade. They married, and later they lived in Tirana. Even after the Cominform Resolution she did not wish to take Albanian citizenship, and he had to leave the foreign service. They had two daughters. In the fall of 1958 they sent him on an official trip, and two men came for her, shoved her into an airplane with her two daughters and deported them to Belgrade. The daughters grew and grew up. They wrote to their father from time to time, and they sent a card every New Year's. There was no response for 27 years. For New Year's in 1985 the daughters and one grandson born in the meantime for the first time received a response from the father and grandfather in Tirana. He who waits will be rewarded.

Beginning last year what some sources say 100 and others put at about 300 Albanian university students are studying abroad, mostly in Italy. There has been approximately the same increase in the number of other official visits outside the country and to some extent in the number of foreign visitors to Albania of those coming on business and as tourists.

"When foreigners cross the Yugoslav-Albanian border they are no longer required to go through disinfection. They are no longer running the risk that the customs officials will shave off their beards," the ASSOCIATED PRESS noted last summer in an eyewitness report.

About 2,500 tourists visit Albania every year. "Most are members of societies of friends of Albania coming to admire the achievements of a socialism that relies exclusively on self-sufficiency," the wire service reported. Its reporter visited Albania as a British tourist and said that tourists were not allowed to take taxis or to enter the overcrowded local buses. Foreigners do go swimming together with Albanians on the beach at Durres. "A brightly colored bikini evokes suspicious glances, and the rare Albanian woman wears a dark one-piece bathing suit," the reporter added. A cup of coffee costs 1 lek, and a glass of beer or brandy 3 leks (an average monthly salary is about 500 leks). Albanians love to drink. "Some people prefer red wine, but brandy is cheaper and stronger," the reporter was told by Koco Harispapa, a factory worker, "whose breakfast consists of an order of fried fish and a large glass of brandy."

#### Rembrandt Escorted by Titian

According to a Finnish source, some 20 foreign newsmen visited Albania last year. It was not said whether this included newsmen traveling as tourists, as in the case of the one we have been quoting. Thus in addition to the occasional analytical articles about Albania, European newspapers have also carried a few personal eyewitness impressions. Kristina von Kohl recorded for NEUE ZURICHER ZEITUNG that the Gallery of Modern Art in Tirana is now showing a small collection of Dutch and Italian masters for the first time. Up to now visitors to the several floors of this gallery have been able to see only the works of Albanian artists done in the "socialist revolutionary" style; but now groups from all parts of the country are coming to see "Rembrandt, Titian and certain other West European works: still lifes, portraits of counts and patricians, landscapes."

Frau Kristina is the Belgrade correspondent of Austrian newspapers, so that if we stretch things a little, we might even say that Belgrade newspaper people have now taken a peak at Albania. In actuality, no one remembers when the last Yugoslav received an entry visa as a newspaperman; as far as NIN is concerned, no one ever has. Let our esteemed reader take this as good cause for our being forced to use the eyes and ears of more fortunate foreign colleagues to such an extent. To be sure, the Albanian news media do not have a single correspondent abroad either, yet "Albania is a virtual little giant in sending out news for foreign consumption." It is eighth in the world in the amount of radio programming for foreign listeners. We owe this datum to the Finnish newspaper HELSINKING SANOMAT. The people at Radio Tirana told its newsman

that more than 100 newspeople are working on programs for foreign consumption. And on domestic programs?--he asked. Answer: about 100.

"Albanians have good reception of radio programs, at least from Yugoslavia," the Finnish newspaper continues. "With the help of special attachments to antennas they can also receive TV programs from neighboring countries. It is not clear how the authorities look upon this. The official spokesman took pains to persuade us that the citizenry has complete freedom in this--if, for example, the soul can take those 'dirty Yugoslav films.' At the same time, it is well known that some 10 years ago, when Albanian TV began to operate, a campaign was organized 'on the initiative of the people' against reception of foreign programs. The attachments on TV antennas were broken at that time," the newspaper recalls.

If the breaking has truly ceased--that is no small step in being more open.

Western observers are inclined to attribute certain changes in Albania in the direction of a door cracked open or at least the door handle pressed down to Enver Hoxha's illness. Allegedly Hoxha is gradually withdrawing, writing his memoirs--his 44th book came out recently--and his heirs are taking over affairs. Whenever they undertake to analyze current Albanian affairs, world newspapers are full of speculation about that illness. According to some, it is sugar diabetes, according to others--Parkinson's disease, and according to still others--cancer. In actuality, no one knows anything for sure, and the guesses are encouraged by a certain change in the habits and behavior of the first man in Tirana. His public appearances come at intervals of several months (the Spartaciad, Peza's mock funeral, the ceremony commemorating the 40th anniversary of the liberation), and even then he has been letting others do the talking.

#### Change of Habits

At the ceremonies we mentioned Ramiz Alia made a speech in Enver Hoxha's presence, and the radio carried Enver's pathetic greetings to the people on that occasion: "My Albania, you have suffered down through the centuries, but Albanians and Albania have fought and won. History, my people, speaks about those great achievements, my Albania. Many enemies have passed over our soil: the Romans Caesar and Mark Anthony, the Ottomans, the Serbian hordes from Stefan Dusan to the Karageorges, the Greeks Venizelos and Zographos, the Italians in World War I and Mussolini, and the Austro-Hungarians of Franz Josef, Hitler's Germans, but you did not bow your head before anyone, my heroic people! You sang to yourself, to your blood in your eternity."

It has been noted that Enver Hoxha has not left Tirana on any public business for 2 years now. Instead he sends letters of greetings to the various meetings in the provinces which previously he was glad to attend, and they are read by his closest collaborators on the new team that has followed Shehu.

What is constant in the newspaper examinations of Albanian affairs is the linkage of isolationism to Enver's personality. According to German radio, several speakers at last summer's seminar in Bavaria on the topic "Albania and



the West" defended the opinion that internal reform in Albania cannot be thought of so long as Enver Hoxha dominates the scene. More cautious observers like Jean Brown, an Oxford professor, suppose that this can last even for the next 10 years or so. But, she adds, it is difficult to imagine that Albania can go on much longer relying exclusively on its own resources. To be sure, it does have natural resources, it is rich in energy sources, and it has substantial reserves of chrome and nickel, "but in and of itself that is not enough to promote the economy and for the functioning of the economy."

#### From the Tractor to the Horse

The economic difficulties, which have been obvious in spite of the occasional assertions in the Albanian press about the ever greater general consumption, constitute an inescapable factor. Since 1982 the additional collectivization of an already utterly collectivized agriculture reduced private farm plots to the size of a little garden and shrank even more the already shrunken peasant market. Vegetable oil, rice and sugar are imported, but total imports do not amount to \$400 million, and it seems that they have been dropping off in the last year or two. There is an evident drop in petroleum production. Petroleum production for 1985 has been estimated at 2.5 million tons, and for 1983 at 1.5 million. ZERI I POPULIT suggested in an editorial that the collective farms go back to horse teams as the principal means of locomotion, certainly so as to leave more petroleum for export. The agreed level of exports of asphalt to the East European countries is not being achieved. The secretary of the party committee has been replaced in the region where petroleum is produced, and the new one who came is a member of the Politburo--which observers also take as evidence of major problems in operation of the oil fields.

The opening up, if and to the extent it exists, is obviously taking place under pressure of economic motivations. In Albania the constitution has prohibited the taking of foreign credits, and this ideological barrier is an economic problem of no small importance for a country facing prolonged stagnation.

With a trade volume exceeding \$80 million, Yugoslavia is Albania's inevitable and largest trade partner. For the sake of comparison, the volume of trade with Turkey, with which Albania has recently intensified its relations greatly, does not exceed \$3 million, and with Egypt \$1.5 million. The volume of trade with the other neighbor, Greece, according to an item on the Voice of America, has doubled and after doubling has reached a level of \$40 million.

A year ago ferry service was established once a week between Trieste and Durrës, and a few months later the modest Albanian rail system linked up with the system of the European railroads via Titograd. Not long ago the Albanians completed the railroad line to their border and held ceremonies opening up service. The Yugoslav part of the job, from the border to Titograd, is nearing completion. Albanian trucks have for years wended to western Europe on Yugoslav highways and back again, for a driver's per diem of 20,000 old dinars, but a few years ago Albanian refused to sign a convention which would have made it possible for trucks from Yugoslavia to reach Greece by a short cut across Albania.

## Strauss' Vacation

The Albanian trade minister visited Italy, Iran, Greece and Turkey over a brief span and thereby indirectly signified the directions in which Albania wishes to develop its foreign trade.

Albania does not have direct economic relations with the world superpowers, the United States and the USSR, and political relations have been frozen for a long time. It is interesting to watch the Albanian press pour bile in equal doses on American imperialism and Soviet revisionism, which leads observers to the judgment that under present circumstances there are no prospects whatsoever for Albania to open up toward either of these two countries. However, Albania is developing relations with smaller members of the two blocs. Italy, France and West Germany figure in Western estimates as the countries which are the first Albanian choice for development of economic relations with the West. As for Italy, which has been Albania's traditional partner down through history and its neighbor across the sea, the new cultural relations have been rounded out with a deepening of cultural relations. A department for the Italian language, which has also begun to be taught in the schools, was opened recently at Tirana University.

Last summer's vacation spent by West German rightwing leader Strauss in Albania was noted with signs of amazement in the world press in spite of the pronounced private nature of his visit. Today we know that Strauss also had contacts in Albania with political people, but he has confessed nothing of this even to aggressive Western journalists. Albania does not have diplomatic relations with West Germany. Contacts between representatives of the two countries have been going on in connection with establishment of those relations. According to a representative of the West German Ministry of Foreign Affairs, whose statement was carried by German radio, the Albanians are demanding war reparations of \$4 billion, which West Germany does not intend to pay. The experts have called this sum fantastic, adding that it does not have to be given serious consideration. But the contacts are continuing.

Another line of Albania's opening up or "opening up" extends in the direction of Turkey, Iran, Egypt, Algeria and certain other Muslim countries. The ATA [ALBANIAN WIRE SERVICE] recently signed an agreement on cooperation with the IRANIAN WIRE SERVICE, and this act was accompanied by publication of mutual compliments. Enver's recognition of the puppet pro-Vietnam regime in Cambodia met with great surprise in the world and was interpreted--rightly or wrongly--as a jab at China. Someone has noted in this context that Enver Hoxha asserts in his recent writings that in the world there are only two revolutions left--except, of course, for the Albanian revolution--that have retained their authenticity--the Vietnamese and the Cuban.

## What Is Not Changing

It seems that nothing is changing in the attitude of the Albanian leadership toward Yugoslavia. Whereas in October Ramiz Alia, who is now Albania's second man, president of the Assembly and secretary of the Central Committee, spoke about Yugoslav-Albanian relations with more moderate words than has been

customary, emphasizing that normalization of relations is in the interest of both countries, on the next to the last day of February ZERI I POPULIT accused Yugoslavia of "efforts to drive a wedge into the Albanian leadership, launching insinuations that there are two lines within it." Does this mean that Enver Hoxha was afraid that some more conciliatory tone would clip the wings of the irredenta in Kosovo? The newspaper was not, of course, able to back up the charge with any kind of quotation. This is a classic case of projecting its own consciousness into someone else's head. After all, when ZERI I POPULIT wrote in October: "The other peoples of the Yugoslav Federation ought to draw the appropriate lessons from the stand taken by the Great Serbs toward socialist Albania and also the stand which they have taken toward the Albanian population in Yugoslavia," while in February it saw the wedge in someone else's hand, putting it in the role of the person who shouts "Catch the thief" in order to divert attention from his own operation.

7045

CSO: 2800/265



ALBANIA

PARTY WORK MUST RESPOND TO CURRENT NEEDS

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 24 Feb 85 p 1

[Article: "The Method and Style of Party Work Must Respond to the Great Tasks of the Times"]

[Text] In order for the method and work style of the party organs and basic party organizations to be effective, they must, above all, be placed in the service of the important issues and the great tasks of the times. The recent experience, especially after the Ninth Plenum of the Party Central Committee, shows that, in essence, many tasks entrusted to dozens and hundreds of collectives have been properly carried out and executed.

Almost 2 months of 1985, the last and decisive year of the Seventh 5-Year Plan, have already passed. During this period, the basic party organizations have worked better everywhere. The self-criticizing and criticizing attitude toward shortcomings has been further intensified from the leadership party forums in the districts, plenary meetings and bureaus, to the basic party organizations and the communists. This fact is serving them to improve their executing and implementing force.

These are a reflection of the improvement of the work method of the party organizations and the state and economic leadership organs. The party propaganda work and its organizational work have been better stressed in regard to the necessity of understanding the tasks assigned--a fact that has increased the mobilization of the people and improved their spirit for action. Everywhere, there are examples showing that when intensive ideological and organizational work with the people is carried out, then the factors obstructing the fulfillment of the tasks are greatly reduced and the results are much better. Last year, in Berat District, 17 enterprises were involved in the initiative for reducing the plan costs and they overfulfilled it by 3 million leks. In this district, attention is given every day to the opinion of the workers of the textile combine, of the machine plants of this combine and of the petroleum plant; therefore, unnecessary absences during these 2 months have been very rare. The bureau of the Ehbason District Party Committee recently established in one analysis of its work that when the party committee had held meetings with the workers of the metallurgical combine, then the tasks were better fulfilled; but, nonfulfillments increased in the combine again when the party work with the people was diminished. It is obvious, that one should draw lessons

from this fact in order to always improve the party educational and mobilizing work and, even more, in order not to allow work in spurts and campaigns.

The work method and style, as Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, change; they are not fixed, established once and forever. They must be adaptable to works and tasks that must be executed and to the level of the training of workers who will fulfill these tasks and so forth. These things are known; therefore, the party has always stressed that there are no ready made prescriptions for work methods and styles. This requires the study of the situation, the study of the progressive experience, improvement of the opinion, training of workers and so forth. In all these matters, the party organizations must stand firm, assign the tasks, exercise control, support achievements and, again, assign, organize and check the new tasks.

The party teaches us that the determining of a suitable work method is a scientific and comprehensive work. It is an inevitable practice to set ideological and organizational measures for each task; they must be implemented by the party organization and its levers. The expansion and improvement of these measures is a continuing necessity. However, the most important thing is that these measures be executed with a strict discipline in all directions. This is a scientific discipline; without this discipline there is no effective work method and style. For example, in some districts such as Tropoje, Diber, Mat, Fier, Kerce and elsewhere the livestock industry is not progressing according to planned paces; in about half of the agricultural enterprises beef is produced with higher costs than planned; nevertheless, in some party organs of these districts, these matters are superficially and empirically treated, providing only some partial measures for the future. Even worse, established measures are never followed and correctly executed. This lack of technical discipline is linked with shortcomings in the educational work with the people to create a sound ideological and political opinion on the opportunities and ways to fulfill the tasks to the last one.

In order for the tasks to be fully implemented, a better and more correct harmony is required between the meetings and the practical activity for their execution. It is fully understandable that there must be meetings, because they are necessary and because they have their own value. However, when meetings are held frequently, repeated on all possible occasions, treat the same subjects and go on and on for too long, then they produce no result at all; on the contrary, they are harmful. Some information from the district party committees report on analyses which are presented in forums, on theoretical and practical seminars and on various other issues. For example, last year the bureau of the Diber District Party Committee analyzed the situation at the Bulqize mine five times. Despite some partial improvements, this mine has had shortcomings. Is it right to observe, from one meeting to the other, that in this mine there are duplications, partnership and technocracy in the party work, instead of deciding to uproot these mistakes by force? Therefore, in the future, too, the main thing is the daily activity with the communists and the masses in order to lead, control, aid and coordinate the execution of these tasks which are decided and established in a collegial manner in meetings and which are set in plans and programs and are advertised as pledges.

From this emerges another essential issue in the work method and style--the aid which the party committees provide for the basic party organizations. This aid must not only be provided where the needs are more urgent, but it must also be skilled. The party has always criticized the rapid visits to the grassroots by the secretaries or workers of the apparatus of the party committee; it has criticized the practice of holding meetings only with the secretaries of the bureaus or the basic [party] organizations. Forms of formalism are also seen in these cases when the instructor of the organization sees that criticism is not being carried out, as it has happened in Fier on some occasions and, nevertheless, does not use his influence to revitalize it, or, when he sees that the themes of the meetings are standardized and, again, does not improve the situation and so forth. Neither speedy visits nor the spirit of observation are not acceptable in the method of party work. On the contrary, in order to help implement the great tasks entrusted to the grassroots, one must sit down with the people, spreading out the cape, as Comrade Enver Hoxha says.

9150

CSO: 2100/31

ALBANIA

NEED TO STRUGGLE AGAINST 'REVISIONIST CURRENTS' STRESSED

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 15 Feb 85 p 3

[Article by Vangjel Moisiu: "It Is Impossible to Make Compromises With or Concessions to Revisionist Currents"]

[Text] Among the most glorious aspects of the epochal history of the party, which embrace four decades of struggle and efforts for the triumph of the revolution and socialism, is its unrelenting struggle and resistance against revisionist currents and its victory over them. The values and experience of this resistance crosses national boundaries and is a world example.

The great ideological conflict with the revisionists is not a simple struggle of an illuminist and academic nature. At its core lie the great questions of the epoch, principled questions of the general line. Contradictions with the revisionists have not simply involved relations between two countries and two parties. Before they had a bilateral character, they were general; before there were international divergencies, there were divergencies of ideology and principle, divergencies between two opposing lines.

In the resistance to modern revisionism and in the clash with it, the Albanian Workers' Party has been fully convinced that this struggle links, in harmonious unity, the fundamental motives, interests and attitudes of our party and people, as well as those of the international communist movement. We have encountered countless difficulties and obstacles, but we have faced them for the sake of basic interests and for the socialist future of the country; we have faced them for the sake of the national and international future, for the universal interests of the world communist movement and for the triumph of communist ideals.

In his greetings to the Albanian people on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the liberation of the fatherland, Comrade Enver Hoxha wrote: "You, my people, led by the Party of Labor, during 40 years under socialism, have never for a moment permitted the new, treacherous and powerful enemies to vanquish you. You have again unsheathed your sword, which has now become sharper, tempered in the fire of battles and beaten on the anvil of history. With this sword, my party, you have struck mercilessly at the imperialists and reactionaries; you have struck at the modern revisionists of all shades and you have forced the unmasking of those secret revisionists who, for their hegemonist purposes, sometimes appeared in the guise of Marxist-Leninists and as our friends.

You, my party, by these attitudes and by your lofty example, have accomplished your internationalist duty and, at the same time, you have told others that they must not cease their struggle against revisionist currents, that they cannot make concessions to them, that they cannot make compromises with them, that they are renegades and traitors."

The struggle of the AWP against revisionist currents has been and is a resolute and consistent struggle, a struggle at knife point with these enemies and traitors of the revolution and socialism. Our party has understood and evaluated the divergencies with Yugoslav, Soviet, Eurocommunist, Maoist, etc. revisionism as divergencies between Marxist-Leninists and revisionists, between revolutionaries and counter-revolutionaries. It has never pursued a line of compromise and reconciliation with them; it has never chosen the way of the "golden mean," which would have surely led to the revisionist mire. "In the struggle against modern revisionism," stresses Comrade Enver Hoxha, "the only correct attitude is the principled attitude. Deals cannot be made with principles; for the defense of principles, one must not pause in the middle of the road, one must never maintain a vacillating and opportunistic attitude."

The struggle between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism has been and is an expression of the ideological struggle between two antagonistic classes. The line of compromises and concessions would be the line of reconciliation of opposites, which would endanger the fundamental interests of the revolution and the victories of socialism.

Naturally, the struggle which has been imposed on the AWP by the modern revisionists is a long and difficult struggle, full of sacrifices, but it has been the only imperative, inevitable way to defend the victories of the revolution and the freedom and independence of our socialist fatherland, and to defend Marxism-Leninism.

The hostile activities of the modern revisionists, their pressures, blockades and blackmail, their assaults and appeals for the overthrow of the leadership of the party, the Albanian communists and the broad working masses of our whole country have been responded to with an unprecedented mobilization of Albania's forces, energies and talents in order to fulfill tasks in all areas. The people as a whole have stood up, revived the great spirit of struggle and have closed ranks more tightly around the party, while the party has further steeled its unity, has strengthened its vigilance and defensive capability, and the people hold more tightly in their hands the arms of fire and ideology.

In all the difficult and grave situations of the great anti-revisionist resistance, our party and people have demonstrated great ideological maturity, unparalleled patience and self-possession and a staunch faith in the correct revolutionary line of our party.

The Albanian Workers' Party, led bravely and in a clear-sighted manner by the Central Committee, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at its head, has resisted, with heroism and Marxist-Leninist maturity, the attacks and blockades of the Khrushchevite, Titoist, etc. revisionists and has counterattacked with great resoluteness and rigorousness, with exemplary conciseness, with great Marxist-Leninist



clarity, with undeniable arguments and facts and with unshakeable conviction in the great and correct cause which they were defending.

At the time when the great ideological conflict with the Khrushchevites was engendered, there were many of them who did not understand the attitude of our party and who considered it almost as a sacrilege and a heresy. There were also skeptics who called it an adventure, a deadly clash for little Albania. As a Marxist-Leninist party, the AWP, in its unrelenting struggle with revisionist currents, has defended and developed the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist doctrine, giving a great example of struggle and experience. "The word of our party, its clear thought and its resolute courage," stresses Comrade Enver Hoxha, "shine and have become a torch for peoples and revolutionaries everywhere in the world." In the colossal clash with revisionist currents, there has been another, further appearance and tempering of its revolutionary qualities and virtues, its infinite fidelity to the great matter of Marxism-Leninism, its ideological and political acuteness and clarity, its inexorable revolutionary valor and its defense of the interests of our people and of the world proletariat.

In the relentless struggle and principles and courageous attitudes of the Albanian Workers' Party to defend Marxism-Leninism against various revisionist currents, the ideas and works of Comrade Enver Hoxha constitute a wealth with great ideological and theoretical value and a wide experience of struggle against opportunist currents and deviations and bourgeois-revisionist degeneracy. They are a very valuable contribution to the defense and creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory on the most fundamental problems of revolutionary strategy and tactics and the struggle against imperialism and revisionism.

Time has fully demonstrated how principled and Marxist-Leninist the attitudes of the Albanian Workers' Party have been in the confrontation and heroic resistance which it has made to the modern revisionists. It has demonstrated how correct the path was which our party chose from the beginning to oppose and combat revisionism to the end. It is being demonstrated every day even more by the complete ideological and political degeneration and the deep, total crisis of modern revisionism, by the grave social and economic conditions and the blind alley into which the revisionist parties and the countries where they are in power have been led.

The struggle of the Albanian Workers' Party against modern revisionist currents constitutes an experience with great value. It clearly indicates that even a small party and a small country can successfully face any enemy, regardless of how great and powerful he may be, can clash with him and emerge victorious, if the smaller one is controlled by faithfulness to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, if he pursues a correct line and has a sound unity in his ranks, if he is closely connected with the people and if he is resolute in struggle and convinced of victory.

18 April 1985

## ALBANIA

## SHORTCOMINGS OF FREE MILITARY SCHOOLS CITED

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 3 Feb 85 p 1

[Article: "No Concessions and Simplifications During Preparation of Structures in Free Military Schools"]

[Text] In order to achieve results and increase the quality of military training and readiness, an important role is being played by the free military schools, as grassroots training institutions where all contingents are prepared for basic training. What is currently observed? Aside from the cadres themselves of the free schools, the staff cadres have given and continue to give help. Many of them have been directly involved in basic training and teach together with the troops and the cadres of units and sub-units. This has caused the cadres to lead while giving their personal example and training in the free military schools to be better placed under direction and control. However, the need is felt for further improvement of work in the free schools because this is the key to resolving the great tasks assigned this year for the intensification of basic training and advanced tactical training.

Political and military training for the further training and compactness of various contingents must be the most fundamental problem in the work of the party, the commands and the staffs. In concrete terms, systematic training in the free military schools, first, increases military readiness and, second, every success in the training of a unit or a division has its foundation in the basic training of the soldier, the squad, the platoon or the volunteer unit. What else is required? A more correct conception of all the contingents, because by the help and control given, as well as by the observations that are made, it is noted that there are many cases where there is greater preoccupation and interest on the part of some commands and staffs in the training of soldiers on active duty and in complex training, while there is little preoccupation with the basic training of all structures in the free schools. Why does this happen when it is known that all structures need to be trained and made compact? Success in military activities cannot be accomplished otherwise. In order to accomplish this better, it is not sufficient simply to repeat, like a slogan, the sentiment, "We must change the free military schools," but the headquarters cadres must, first of all, go down to the free military schools in order to help and develop programmed training and special subjects. It is sufficient to mention the units where Comrades Dh. Germahu, C. Boro, S. Sera, A. Gropasi, etc. work. Here, the cadres of the staffs consider themselves as instructors in the free schools and they render effective assistance.



But the further increase of quality and effectiveness of basic training in free schools requires, aside from other things, that the help and control on the part of the commands and staffs should have the most concrete possible object, that they should indicate ways for the best possible organization of training, according to stages, etc. This is done well when the cadres of the staffs are thoroughly acquainted with the directives of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha regarding the organization and functioning of the free military schools, so that they know where and how they should give qualified assistance and constructive ideas for the work and should draw conclusions. We say this because some units are still not dealing well with these problems. What happens? When some cadres go to the free schools to help and control, they remain on the mechanical side of the problem or they give some orders and tasks for closing ranks. Who is served by such a style and method of work? The cadres who go to help and control, aside from preliminary training, must have better knowledge of the current problems of the free military schools. They must take the situation in hand and roll up their sleeves, otherwise their help will be reduced to a few dry observations on what progress should be made. Such routine practice should be ended.

In order to realize basic training in the free military schools in a better way, there is no reason to leave the work only to the cadres on active duty. The whole army of cadres, reservists and volunteers should be activated. Most of these people have secondary and higher education. Not only that. Experience indicates that they direct military activities as capably as they direct enterprise and cooperative affairs. But they must be better trained so that they always develop their lessons with the personnel that they command; they must increase their confidence in their directing and commanding abilities. There must also be a forceful struggle against those foreign and conservative practices which are observed here and there, especially in advanced training, and which involve the backing up of reserve cadres by a cadre on active duty, allegedly because "this is the only way to achieve success!"

The qualitative improvement of basic training and, particularly, training in the free military schools, requires more active cooperation by the party organs in the army with those in the terrain and vice versa. This work does not need campaigns, but must be kept in mind during all the activities of the free military schools. It is necessary to have discussions with the comrades in the terrain, so that when dates are set for exercises, this should not remain a formal matter, because when the schedules are compiled, there is no reason for the dates to be postponed, as has happened in some districts. The program of military training, like the economic plan in an enterprise or a cooperative, is a law and no one has the right to do as he pleases with it. After approval, everyone must think and work so that training develops as well as possible in time and quality; they must provide for the most valuable subjects, those which lead to rapid and high-quality training.

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CSO: 2100/32

BULGARIA

LEGAL AFFAIRS COMMITTEE DISCUSSES INTERMARRIAGE

AU261120 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 26 March 85 p 8

[Mitko Bozhkov report]

[Excerpt] A session of the National Assembly Legal Affairs Committee was held at the "Eastern" hall of the National Assembly Building yesterday. Leading bodies of other permanent committees, as well as representatives of mass sociopolitical organizations, and of the mass media participated in the session, which was also attended by public figures and outstanding legal experts. The session was chaired by Yaroslav Radev, chairman of the Legal Affairs Committee.

The main subject of discussion this time was the debate on the law to be applied in family-legal relations with an international element, namely in cases when a marriage is contracted between Bulgarian citizens abroad, or between Bulgarian and foreign citizens in another country, or in Bulgaria, as well as in cases of foreigners marrying in Bulgaria. The core of the proposal submitted in this respect is the concern to guarantee the protection of Bulgarian citizens and to ensure the applicability of Bulgarian laws in order to avoid the application of foreign laws whenever they are in contradiction with the basic principle of the laws valid in the People's Republic of Bulgaria and in contradiction with socialist morality.

CSO: 2200/129

BULGARIA

BCP CC GREETES LPRP CC ON ANNIVERSARY

AU252101 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 22 Mar 85 p 1

[Greetings message from the BCP Central Committee to the Central Committee of the Lao PEOPLE'S Revolutionary Party (LPRP) on its 30th anniversary]

[Text] Dear Comrades: On behalf of the Bulgarian Communists and the entire Bulgarian people, we send you, the Lao communists, and the fraternal Lao people most cordial greetings on the LPRP'S 30th anniversary.

The foundation of the LPRP had a decisive role in rallying all patriotic and democratic forces in Laos and in their victory in the struggle for freedom, national independence, and social progress. Under the LPRP leadership the Lao patriots, with the assistance of the other Indochinese peoples and with the support of the UYSSR and the countries of the socialist community, achieved their motherland's independence and unveiled the road of socialist development. Today the heroic and diligent Lao people is successfully solving the tasks set by the Third LPRP Congress for constructing the foundations of the socialist society.

With its selfless struggle the LPRP achieved a high authority among the country's working people and throughout the world. It is consistently fighting against imperialism, reaction, and hegemony, and making its contribution to strengthening the unity of the international communist and workers' movement on the foundations of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The fraternal friendship which unites the Bulgarian and Lao communists is a firm foundation of developing comprehensive relations between our two countries. It has been expressed in the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Lao people's Democratic Republic, signed in 1979 by Comrades Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and State Council chairman, and by Kaysone Phomvihan, general secretary of the LPRP Central Committee and premier of the Lao People's Democratic Republic.

Marking the LPRP'S 30th anniversary, the Bulgarian people firmly believe that under the leadership of the LPRP and its Central Committee the Lao people will defend and strengthen their revolutionary achievements and will construct socialism in their ancient and beautiful country.

Long live the LPRP -- the combat leader and organizer of all the victories of the Lao people!

Long live the indestructible and fraternal friendship between the BCP and LPRP and between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Lao People's DEMOCRATIC Republic!

Long live socialism and peace!

CSO: 2200/129

BULGARIA

BCP DAILY ON MSZMP CONGRESS, KADAR REPORT

AU271316

[Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 26 March carries on pages 1 and 7 a 1,200-word report by correspondent Stanislav Drumeshki from Budapest on the opening of the 13th MSZMP Congress. On page 6 it carries a 6,000-word report entitled "Summary of the Accountability Report of the MSZMP Central Committee read by comrade Janos Kadar to the 13th MSZMP Congress" signed by BTA correspondents Lyubomir Dimitrov and Georgi Vedrodenski.

The Penchev-Drumeshki report mentions the presence of the Bulgarian and Soviet Delegations, headed by Chudomir Aleksandrov and Grigoriy Romanov, respectively. It gives the congress agenda and an approximately 900-word report of the speech by Janos Kadar presenting the MSZMP Central Committee report. This report of Kadar's speech contains general references to economic policy and foreign policy. It does not contain Kadar's references to the need for more East-West meetings.

The Dimitrov-Vedrodenski summary of the MSZMP Central Committee report notes Hungary's development since the "Liberation from Fascism" 40 years ago to the present day, mentioning in particular gratitude to the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries for their "solidarity" in Hungary's construction of a socialist society.

The passage on the international situation praises the policy of the Warsaw Pact countries and the "Coordinated Efforts of the Warsaw Pact Member Countries which serve the cause of peace throughout the world." It also briefly mentions the "Great Importance of Soviet-American Negotiations for Detente in the International Atmosphere." No more references to detente are included in the summary.

The "summary" goes on to speak about the favorable effect of cooperation within CEMA for the economic development of socialist countries, including Hungary, noting the "increased international prestige" of Hungary. "The progressive and realistic worldwide public opinion is aware of Hungary's successes, acknowledges them, and highly appreciates the high principles, consistency and stability of our country's policy," the "Summary" quotes.

The passage on domestic policy, which takes up more than half of the "Summary" deals with statements on the contribution of youth organizations, trade unions,

workers, peasants, and intellectuals to the socialist construction in Hungary, it notes data on economic successes, and mentions the growing influence of the party, adding: "Relying on public opinion, the party, state and social organs must resolutely and energetically struggle against negative phenomena. It is necessary to wage a consistent struggle against manifestations of abuse of power, nepotism, and corruption." Cooperation with the Soviet Union and socialist countries is mentioned again in the passage about Hungary's foreign trade.

The closing passage of the "Summary" once again deals with domestic affairs and party life, without however, mentioning forthcoming June elections and the existence of other parties in the country. It merely mentions the fact that "nonparty people are increasingly being involved in joint work and the leading role of the MSZMP is implemented in all important sectors of social life." It adds that "The party's inner life is determined by the principles of democratic centralism and by the leninist norms. In adopting decisions the principle of collective leadership is observed and in implementing decisions the principle of personal responsibility is valid. Inner-party democracy is being developed and the participation of communists in determining party policy is being enhanced."

Referring to MSZMP foreign relations, cooperation with the CPSU and the "fraternal parties of socialist countries" is mentioned again and the closing passage reads:

"The MSZMP considers that ideological differences and contradictions do not exclude the sharing of the same opinions on a number of basic issues and on this basis -- the joining of efforts of different political parties and movements in solving the most important problems of mankind. Guided by the common interest in resisting imperialist efforts, the MSZMP, during the period under review, expanded its contacts with the national democratic parties of developing countries and with the national liberation movements.

"The MSZMP Central Committee report stressed in conclusion the firm resolve of the party to proceed also in the future along the leninist path, and in expressing the basic interests of the Hungarian people, to proceed in its selfless work devoted to the construction of a developed socialist society."

CSO: 2200/129



BULGARIA

MUSLIM ATHLETE ON 'BULGARIAN HOMELAND'

AU281926 Sofia BTA in English 1748 GMT 28 Mar 85

["Naum Shalamanov: Bulgaria Is My Homeland" -- BTA Headline]

[Text] Sofia, March 28 (BTA) -- Weight-Lifting records are winnable only if one has something to stay one's faith on and only if one does it in the name of something great, and there is nothing dearer or greater to me than my homeland, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, than the Heroic Bulgarian people, who provides wonderful conditions for the realisation of human capabilities, emphasises world-famous Bulgarian Weight-lifter Mr Naum Shalamanov, world record holder and winner of the world weight-lifting cup.

Mr Naum Shalamanov has addressed these words to the annual general conference of the District Komsomol Organisation in his native district of Kurdzhali.

In his congratulatory address, carried in the latest issue of the NOVA SVETLINA newspaper, Mr Naum Shalamanov extends heartfelt greetings to the youth in the land of his birth and shares some of his anxieties.

I am somewhat worried, the Bulgarian weight-lifter says, that during my recent participation in some international sports competitions, certain foreign reporters and nationals have been seeking to provoke me.

"I am Bulgarian, and my name is what it ought to be, what I myself am. And I have nothing to do with any foreign country": this is Mr Naum Shalamanov's reply to his provokers and this is what he has to tell to all those thinking meanly of his homeland and of himself.

Mr Naum Shalamanov has the following to share with the young people in his native parts: Whenever I climb the victory stand, and when everybody rises to hear our national anthem, he emphasises, I am filled with pride and happiness, because I know that even when our homeland is mudslinged, our tricolour flag will still be flying above all other flags in honour of our victories, in honour of our sports, in honour of Mother Bulgaria.

There is only one truth: I am the son of a small but proud and industrious people, Mr Naum Shalamanov Stresses. I was born and bred in a common workers family; the BCP and the Dimitrov Komsomol are my mentors. Wherever I go, my actions are seeking to guard the honour of Bulgaria, to protect her prestige of a vigorously developing socialism country.



BULGARIA

ZHIVKOV AWARDS OUTSTANDING ATHLETES 25 Mar CH

AU251925 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 25 Mar 85

[Excerpts] On 25 March at the Boyana Residence Comrade Todor Zhivkov met outstanding Bulgarian athletes, who have achieved high results at the 1984 "Friendship" Games of the socialist countries, as well as their coaches and leaders. Comrade Todor Zhivkov awarded our best athletes and coaches with high distinctions.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov spoke after the awarding ceremony. In his speech he pointed out that in Bulgaria sport is the legal right of every citizen, because physical culture is not only a factor in human health and mood, but also a condition of and stimulus to man's intellectual development. The main point is, Comrade Zhivkov stressed, to connect mass physical culture with health protection and vacationing, on the basis of a complex approach, and to direct forces toward studying, revealing, developing, and utilizing the great physical abilities of man. Recalling that at the "Friendship" Games the Bulgarian athletes won 15 championship titles and 74 medals, Comrade Todor Zhivkov stressed that these achievements are results of consistent work, selflessness, and striving toward a world and Olympic level in sport. In conclusion he pointed out that it is the task of the champions to use their successes in order to evoke interest in and deeds exemplifying the full utilization of all intellectual and physical possibilities of man in their harmonious unity. Comrade Todor Zhivkov's speech was heard with great attention and followed by prolonged applause.

CSO: 2200/129

BULGARIA

ROLE OF POLITICAL TRAINING WITHIN ARMY

AU252000 [Editorial Report] Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian on 22 March 1985 carries on page 2 a 1,600-word unattributed report entitled: "The Company -- A Center of Active, Political-Educational Work," dealing with a recent meeting of the Main Political Administration of the People's Army Bureau, which "discussed the state of political training work within the subdetachment collectives and the contribution of this work to the combat and political training of the personnel." Officer At. Bozhanin is reported to have lectured on the subject.

The report begins by enumerating the positive achievements of party work within the companies subjected to detachments. The implementation of "varied political initiatives aimed at consolidating military discipline" is described. Cultural-educational information activities are also pointed out, such as providing the soldiers with numerous daily newspapers and journals, and giving them the opportunity of listening to radio and watching television.

"The Bureau of the Main Political Administration of the People's Army, basing itself on the increased demands of the party as regards ideological activities, pointed out certain basic tasks and methods for further improving the quality of political-educational work within the army collectives of the subdetachments and for the transformation of subdetachments and companies into a genuine center of effective political-educational work," the report further stresses.

The report further describes the necessity for "self-initiative" of party groups and Komsomol organizations within the army in mobilizing the intellectual and physical efforts of the soldiers in obtaining excellent results in their work. The report also adds the request of the Main Political Administration Bureau that ideological work should be implemented "in all places," namely, during theoretical and field training as well as during the recreation hours of the personnel. The report adds: "It is necessary to implement purpose-oriented, political work for eliminating all prerequisites for extraordinary misdemeanors and violations of discipline, as well as for the violation of the sociopsychological atmosphere in the collectives, which impedes successful implementation of tasks."

After describing "basic forms" of political-educational work within the companies, such as interesting lectures on political and ideological subjects, as well as varied cultural events organized especially for the soldiers, the report draws attention to the need for "individual performance" and "self-initiative of the soldiers," and then adds:

"The Bureau of the Main Political Administration draws attention to individual work with people, to relaxed, personal contact of commanders and political workers with their subordinates. The soldiers need constant care and understanding for their thoughts, feelings, interests, and needs. The efficiency of individual political work greatly depends upon the skill to exert an impact upon the consciousness and behavior of the soldiers through a correct, just word from the party, through personal care for the solution of the people's individual problems, through setting a positive, personal example by coordinating words with adequate deeds."

The report closes with further recommendations for political and cultural activities within companies and small army units, and points out: "The transformation of company collectives into the centers of political-educational work will bring them closer to the party demands for improving the quality of combat training activities and for asserting the socialist way of life, closer to even greater results in combat readiness and in consolidating discipline."

CSO: 2200/129

BULGARIA

ANGOLAN MPLA DELEGATION VISITS 18-24 March

AU241915 Sofia BTA in English 1717 GMT 24 Mar 85

[Text] Sofia, March 24 (BTA) -- In keeping with the protocol on cooperation between the BCP and the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola [MPLA] Workers Party, an Angolan party delegation visited here from March 18 through 24. It was headed by Ms Maria Mambo Cafe, secretary for economic and social affairs of the party's Central Committee.

The delegation was received by the secretaries of the CC of the BCP Mr Dimitur Stanishev and Mr Kiril Zarev, who briefed the Angolan guests on the tasks which the Bulgarian people is carrying out in preparation for the 13th BCP Congress. The Bulgarian people's solidarity with the Angolan people was reaffirmed in its struggle to vindicate its independence and for Angola's further development along the road of socialist orientation. The reciprocal desire was expressed for the steady expansion and diversification of contacts and cooperation between the two parties, countries and peoples on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The delegation also conferred at the departments of "Economic and Techno-Scientific Policy", "Cadre Policy" and "Organisation" of the CC of the BCP.

CSO: 2200/129

BULGARIA

ZHIVKOV RECEIVES SINGAPORE ENVOY'S CREDENTIAL

AU282016 Sofia BTA in English 1855 GMT 28 Mar 85

[Text] Sofia, March 28 (BTA) -- Today Mr. Todor Zhivkov, Bulgaria's State Council president, received Mr Kemal Siddique, the newly appointed ambassador of Singapore, who presented his credentials.

Speeches of greeting were exchanged at the ceremony. The Bulgarian head of state said in his statement he is convinced that the forces of reason and peace in the world will take the upper hand and that a relaxation of the international situation will be soon achieved, that the danger of a nuclear holocaust will be removed. As far as Bulgaria is concerned, he went on to say in his speech, she will persevere in her policy of peace, understanding and cooperation with all countries in the world, based on the principles of sovereignty, equality and mutual benefit. Hope is expressed that Singapore, a small but steadily progressing country, will make her contribution to solving the complicated problems in Southeast Asia by means of peaceful dialogue.

In his greetings speech, Mr Kemal Siddique observed that Singapore adheres to the provisions in the U.N. Charter, based on the principles of equality, mutual benefit and respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, as well as non-intervention in the internal affairs of other countries. Our common service to these principles, the speech said, will lie in the foundations of the further promotion of friendly relations. It is also indicated that Bulgaria is among the first to have concluded a trading agreement with Singapore. An agreement on scientific and cultural cooperation and an air communications accord are also in force.

CSO: 2200/129

BULGARIA

BRIEFS

AUSTRIAN CARDINAL KOENIG VISITS--Sofia, March 21 (BTA)--The austrian cardinal Dr. Franz Koenig, who was on a private visit to Bulgaria as a guest of the Austrian Ambassador Mrs. Berta Braun, left this country. During his stay in Bulgaria Cardinal Koenig visited Orthodox and Catholic temples, the Rile monastery, the Bachkovski monastery, and acquainted himself with some of the sights of the capital and the town of Plovdiv. Cardinal Koenig also met the Bulgarian Patriarch Maksim. He visited the Ministry of Foreign Affairs where he was received by Deputy Minister Lyubomir Popov, chairman of the Committee on the Issues of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church and of the religious Cults. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1444 GMT 21 March 85 AU]

DOENOV, TANCHEV AT GREEK RECEPTION--On 25 March Ioannis Bourloyannis-Tsangarides, Greek ambasaddor to Bulgaria, gave a reception at the embassy on the occasion of his country's national holiday. The reception was attended by Comrades Ognyan Doynov and Petur Tanchev; Georgi Karamanev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; members of the State Council and the Government; leaders of public organizations and creative unions; and chiefs and members of diplomatic missions accredited in Sofia. The reception took place in a friendly atmosphere. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 25 Mar 85 AU]

CSO: 2200/129

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

AUTHOR OF UN AFGHANISTAN STUDY A 'REVANCHIST'

AU271405 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Mar 85 p 7

[Unattributed Vienna dispatch: "Advocate of Bandits"]

[Text] Vienna -- In a commentary published on Wednesday [20 March], VOLKSSTIMME, the newspaper of Austrian communists, criticizes and dismisses as untrue and unscientific the so-called Afghanistan Report elaborated by the Viennese Professor Felix Ermacora. Ermacora discovered in the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan awful conditions. Allegedly, human rights are constantly being violated in Afghanistan.

Ermacora learned about this from "representatives of all Afghan opposition groups." Not in Afghanistan, but in Peshavar, Pakistan, where these gentlemen reside, VOLKSSTIMME writes. Ermacora did not find anything conspicuous. The fact, for example, that the so-called representatives of political opposition groups are, in reality, old feudal lords and large estate owners ousted by the revolution, who must now eke out a living as anticommunist chatterboxes. The more supposed horrors, the more abundant is the flow of U.S. support, VOLKSSTIMME stresses.

It must be added that the Viennese lawyer Ermacora is not just an advocate of the Afghan counterrevolution, but also an ideological fellow fighter of Sudeten German revanchism directed against Czechoslovakia. He confirmed this tellingly at a recent rally of the revanchist Sudeten German Landsmannschaft in Munich. This rally vociferously reiterated revanchist demands for the "right to the homeland," and the like. Ermacora provided the "legal foundations" for this by claiming that the "system of human rights" also includes the "right to the homeland."

CSO: 2400/331



CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BILAK, IRAQI CP LEADER HOLD TALKS

AU252157 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Mar 85 p 1

[Text] Prague (z) -- Vasil Bilak, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and secretary, met on Friday [2 March] 'Aziz Muhammad, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Iraq, who is on a brief visit to the CSSR.

In a cordial and comradely talk, the two representatives briefed each other on the activity and tasks of their parties and spoke in favor of further deepening contacts between the Cpcz and the Communist Party of Iraq.

In appraising the international situation they resolutely condemned the actions of U.S. ruling circles, aimed at escalating feverish armament, and their endeavors to dictate their will to the world from a position of strength, in contradiction to the vital interests of the peoples and enhancing the danger of an outbreak of a nuclear war.

In the exchange of opinions of the situation in the Middle East, it was stated that the United States and Israel are still aggravating their aggressive policy against the Arab countries -- a policy aimed at suppressing the Arab national liberation movement and the progressive regimes and at preparing the way for strengthening imperialist expansion in that area. They resolutely condemned the genocide and barbarianism perpetrated by the Israeli aggressor in Lebanon, which are reminiscent of the fascists' crimes during World War II.

They spoke in favor of putting an end to the senseless war between Iraq and Iran and in favor of peacefully settling all controversial issues on the basis of a just democratic solution.

The two representatives expressed the opinion that the vital interests of the Arab peoples demand a closer cohesion of anti-imperialist and national-patriotic forces, including the Palestinian resistance movement.

The negotiations were attended by Radoslav Klein, deputy head of a CPCZ Central Committee department.

CSO: 2400/331

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

ENVIRONMENTAL POLLUTION IN NORTHERN BOHEMIA DESCRIBED

Paris LE MONDE in French 25 Feb p 11

[Unsigned article: "In the Black Triangle of Sokolov"]

[Text] The Massacre Has Begun in Czechoslovakia

"Ghostly landscapes, hopelessly devoid of life, seem more like an apocalyptic science-fiction scene than a forest worthy of the name: as far as the eye can see there are only skeletal tree trunks despoiled of their leaves and bark; often only stumps of trunks and dead trees remain, having been broken by the wind, lying in an inextricable confusion of trunks and branches. The foresters leave the dead wood on the ground to prevent erosion, since the ground is now protected only by an herbaceous vegetation in pitiful state." These were the words of Rene Wunenburger, a young Alsatian engineer of the CITEPA (Interprofessional Technical Center For Studies On Atmospheric Pollution), to describe the spectacle of the forest in the Krusne mountains of Czechoslovakia. Another witness of this desolation mentions the Dantesque aspect of these formerly superb mountains: "At Teplice the spruces are as bare as the larches in winter. The countryside looks as if it had been treated with a defoliant. It is Vietnam [again]," Philippe Lagauterie, regional delegate for architecture and environment for Haute-Normandie, notes with terror. The pollution in Basse-Seine is a venial sin compared with the smoke in Bohemia...

Regarding the Krusne mountains, even if one sees a direct pollution which is only one aspect of the acid rains (which circulate in the upper atmosphere and for long distances) Czechoslovakia's case is the worst example. Nowhere else in Europe can one find such an accumulation of acidity in the air, earth, and water. In fact, Czechoslovakia, and mainly its western part (Bohemia and Moravia), is practically in the "eye of the hurricane," that is to say it is in the heart of an industrial Europe covered with blast furnaces, thermal power stations, and all kinds of factory chimneys.

Emanations from the Ruhr, and West German industry in general, come from the west when the wind is right--which is often the case since west winds predominate in Europe and air circulation in the upper atmosphere also occurs principally in this direction. Studies carried out in Prague have evaluated the "importation" of West German sulfur oxide at 129,000 tons in 1982. But the greatest amounts of industrial pollutants come from the GDR and Poland.

"Along 300 kilometers between Eisenach and Dresden, we counted 400 factory chimneys," Mr. Wunenburger declares. This GDR industrial corridor, where "each village has its factory," culminates in Karl-Marx-Stadt, where blast furnaces, organic chemistry and petrochemistry plants are grouped. The Krusne mountains "catch" the smoke coming from the GDR (222,000 tons of sulfur dioxide "gathered" in 1982), and the Tatra Mountains, which mark the frontier with Poland, receive smoke from Silesia (114,000 tons in 1982). Czechoslovakia also receives sulfur from Hungary (82,000 tons) and from Austria (26,000 tons), but it returns almost that much to them. Of course, the greatest polluter of Czechoslovakia still is Czechoslovak industry itself. If the notorious Krusne mountains have become lunar landscapes in certain places, it is partly due to the Karl-Marx-Stadt chimneys in the north, but mostly to the "black triangle of Sokolov", the Czech Ruhr, in the south. The Sokolov industrial basin, in northern Bohemia, is situated on an immense deposit of lignite (about 40 kilometers long, 5 kilometers wide, and 300 meters deep).

This deposit, mainly exploited in opencast mines, has a very high sulfur content--an average of 8 percent. The principal thermal power station there produces between 600,000 and 800,000 tons of sulfur dioxide per year. In comparison, the French industrial complex of Fos-sur-Etang at Berre, "only" releases 150,000 tons of sulfur dioxide per year into the Provencal skies. By itself, alone, the black triangle of Sokolov produces as much sulfur dioxide as the whole of France: 2,500,000 tons per year!

If one considers the amount of sulfur dioxide produced in terms of the area of the country, one finds that, despite a Slovakia that is little industrialized, Czechoslovakia clearly leads all the Central European countries, with 4,200,000 tons, closely followed by the GDR (4,000,000 tons), the FRG (3,600,000 tons) and Poland (3,000,000 tons). As a result, Bohemia has the highest concentrations of sulfur dioxide in all of Europe: from 80 to 100 micrograms of  $\text{SO}_2$  per cubic meter of air in the Krusne mountains and, throughout Bohemia, an average of 40 micrograms of  $\text{SO}_2$  per cubic meter of air. While 5.6 is considered a normal acidity (pH) rate, the average rate lies between 4.1 and 4.5 in Czechoslovakia. It sometimes goes down below 3, and even this is more acid than lemon juice!

Not only do the forests die with such acidity in the air and the earth, but it becomes impossible to replace them: young seedlings in turn vegetate, wither and die. In some mountain ranges they have taken to reseeding the grass in order to stop an already advanced erosion process. Those responsible for the Czechoslovak economy evaluate the losses in wood at approximately 1,700,000 cubic meters of wood each year.

Soil acidification also results in a lowering of agricultural production. According to the latest observations grain yields have reportedly declined by 11 percent; corn, 23 percent; potatoes, 30 percent. The effects of the phenomenon on the population are not known since no study has been made public. But Madame Elieka Novakova, a researcher of the Institute of Applied Ecology of the University of Prague, has shown that wildlife, beginning with the hare, underwent important organic alterations due to industrial pollution, and also to automobile pollution.

It has been possible to measure soil acidity in the region of Brno, in eastern Bohemia, since 1940. Samples taken from about 30 observation posts show that the rates suddenly rose, beginning in 1965, when a very large thermal power station was put into service. In the Tatra mountains, which are both a national park and a large ski resort, but where around 100,000 hectares of spruce are dying, reduction by one fourth of the number of bacteria, and of microscopic mushrooms which decompose the organic matter of the earth, has been observed. As in Scandinavia, several lakes have become sterile, even as far as the green region of Sumava, which nevertheless adjoins the Bavarian national park.

Czechoslovak authorities have begun to react. Since 1981, Kcs 468 million have been invested in a restoration program which has made it possible to install gas separation systems and anti-dust filters in certain thermal power stations. The Tusimice II complex (200 megawatts), which will enter into production in 1987, will be equipped with a desulfurization system.

Liming operations in the soil are already under way to absorb the earth and water acidity. Thus, in 1984, around a thousand hectares were treated in the Beskides mountains. Lime spreading there will be extended this year. As in the GDR, efforts are also being made to reforest with more resistant strains, particularly a hybrid larch from Japan. And they have even spread fertilizer in the forest, as in other lands under cultivation: 36 kilos of nitrate fertilizer per hectare of spruce plantings. Traditionally hardy coniferous trees have become fragile plants requiring special care!

The future of Czechoslovakia's air quality depends in large measure on its thermal power stations. Since the main element of fuel currently is made up lignite or of coal with a very high sulfur content, it is estimated that sulfur dioxide production will be at its maximum around 1990. This situation is expected to improve only around the year 2000. Most of the information for this article was gathered after a study trip organized in April 1984 by the International Training Center in Wildlife and Environment in Colmar. Originally this trip was to permit participants--university members, engineers, officials, and journalists--to travel throughout the regions in all of Central Europe affected by acid rains. (RFG, GDR, Poland and Czechoslovakia). The presence of journalists in the group upset the program: The GDR only authorized highway transit of its territory, without stops. Poland finally cancelled the planned visits there (very far, however, from Gdansk!), and Czechoslovakia granted no visas to journalists...

9772

CSO: 3519/203

18 April 1985

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

## BRIEFS

CPCZ STUDY DELEGATION IN MOSCOW--At the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee, a study delegation of the CPCZ Central Committee led by Frantisek Pitra, secretary of the party Central Committee, arrived by air today in Moscow. During the visit the delegation will exchange experience of the implementation of both countries' communist parties' policies in improving the planned management of the agro-industrial complex and in applying the results scientific and technological developments in practice. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1530 GMT 25 Mar 85]

STROUGAL RECEIVES USSR'S BUGAYEV--Federal Premier Lubomir Strougal today in the Hrzan Palace in Prague received USSR Civil Aviation Minister Boris Bugayev. In the course of the conversation (They) praised the results achieved in extending cooperation in aircraft manufacture. Its growth is borne out by the fact that the Let-Kunovice enterprise has already supplied 500 L-410 aircraft to civil aviation air routes in the USSR. Apart from topical questions the two representatives also evaluated opportunities concerning the long-term prospects of cooperation in the aviation industry. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1130 GMT 22 Mar 85]

COOPERATION WITH BRAZIL DISCUSSED-- Brazil's Acting President Jose Sarney has received Eduard Saul, CSSR minister of metallurgy and heavy engineering, who is heading the Czechoslovak delegation to the inauguration of President Tancredo Neves. Their Meeting revealed close views on fundamental international problems, and both countries expressed interest in disarmament, maintaining world peace, and the nonuse of force in resolving international problems. Sarney and Saul also affirmed interest in the further development of Czechoslovak-Brazilian relations, and stressed in particular the possibility of the further expansion of trade and industrial cooperation. Saul also inspected the newly opened iron ore strip mine in Carajas and discussed with representatives of the Brazilian CVRD state mining company the possibility of purchases of Brazilian iron ore contingent on sales of Czechoslovak equipment for strip mines. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Mar 85 p 7 AU]



INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENT SEMINAR OPENS--A seminar on living and working environments in agriculture and in forest and water economy was opened on Friday [22 March] in Brno. Leading representatives of the trade unions of workers in forest and water economy from Bulgaria, the CSSR, Hungary, the GDR, the FRG, Poland, Austria, and the USSR will exchange their knowledge and experience. The guests include representatives of the international Trade Union Association of Workers in Agriculture, Forestry, and Plantations, which has its headquarters in Prague. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Mar 85 p 2] [Unsigned Report in the "By Teletype, Mail, Telephone..." column]

CSO: 2400/331



GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

BERLIN CATHOLIC BISHOP'S MESSAGE ON ARMS, ENVIRONMENT

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 7 Mar 85 p 5

[Article by "Ws." datelined Berlin 6 Mar 85: "Cardinal Meisner: Arming for War is Robbery"]

[Text] On principle, the Catholic Church in the GDR does not comment on political events of the day--mostly to avoid the danger of being used for SED propaganda purposes. The 40th anniversary of the war's end in Europe will be celebrated by the GDR on 8 May as the "anniversary of the Soviet Union's victory over Hitler Fascism and the liberation of the German people from Nazi rule." The Federation of Evangelical Churches in the GDR and the Evangelical Church in Germany are planning a joint statement for 8 May. The Catholic bishops in the two states of Germany have no such plans. They wish to commemorate the end of the war in Europe each in their own way. The 10 Catholic bishops and suffragans in the GDR, federated in the Berlin Bishops' Conference, on Tuesday evening jointly celebrated an atonement and reconciliation service in the St. Hedwig cathedral in East Berlin on the occasion of the upcoming anniversary of the end of the war in Europe. In the overcrowded bishops' church--the permanent representative of the FRG in East Berlin, state secretary Braeutigam, was also present among the approximately 1,000 faithful--the bishop of Berlin and chairman of the Berlin Bishops' Conference, Cardinal Meisner, gave a sermon which must be seen as the pronouncement of the Catholic Church in the GDR on the subject of 8 May. At the end of the service all members of the Berlin Bishops' Conference jointly asked for God's blessing for "our entire people and our country." In the following, we are publishing Cardinal Meisner's sermon verbatim:

"1. Already today we are remembering the 40th anniversary of the end of war in Germany. On this occasion the bishops attending the spring conference are celebrating this evening in St. Hedwig Cathedral a solemn service of atonement and reconciliation. We step under Christ's cross and profess Christ who is our peace and our reconciliation. 'Whoever acknowledges me before men, the son of man will acknowledge before the angels of God,' the Lord says. It is liberating for us that Christ acknowledges us first. He acknowledges us before God. He is our witness in court. He speaks for us when we would have to keep silent out of shame. He stands up for us when we would have to sink through the ground [with shame]. He is our witness. He is so undividedly, wholly in word and deed, faithful unto death, even unto death on the cross. His profession enables us to profess, also. The disaster of the war came from Germany and

destroyed and annihilated many countries and peoples. At that time, only a few yards from this sacred place, decisions were made on death and destruction of millions of people. The Church does not exist at the side of the people or above the people, but lives in the people. It shares in its welfare and suffering. Therefore, the Church also carries that burden of our people which the war inflicted on it. It stands deliberately under the cross of the consequences of the war. The partitioning of Europe, even of the world, but especially the partitioning of our homeland which is painfully experienced by almost every family, is one of the saddest and most tragic consequences. The disconsolate result of sin is always separation: the separation from God, and the separation of men. During the past 40 years, it has overshadowed the lives of many people. The testimony of the faithful is based on Christ's testimony.

2. Just as their testimony is public, the profession of Christians is also public, not private. Christ's cause: Truth and justice are not a private matter. For the history of the world is ever the history of the human heart, also. All good and evil spirits enter the world through the gate of the human heart. Greed, thirst for power and megalomania start in the heart and bring discord, war, murder and death into the world. Danger for the world lies in the twisted heart of man. Hope for a new world lies in the heart filled by the Holy Spirit. The spirit of God within us connects man with God, man with man, and man with the world. When men are filled with love for God, love of one's neighbor, and love of the world, a new world comes into being. Greed, thirst for power and megalomania disappear. As the Scripture says, the works of the flesh disappear, and the manifold fruit of the spirit grows. Not world programs and manifestos save the world, but the Holy Spirit who at the very beginning lay above the creation and formed chaos into cosmos. He will renew the face of the earth through new hearts. Wherever there is a new heart, a new world comes into being.

3. Just as the testimony of Jesus Christ is undivided and whole, so is the testimony of Christians undivided. Limiting it to the area of the spiritual or religious, or at any rate excluding the world, divides Christ and lastly leads to the denial of Christ. However, Christian testimony is burdened with all the problems of the world if it wants to be undividedly Christian. Therefore, we say to all corners of the world: arming for war is robbery, for it takes from the poor the bread necessary for life. Unbridled production at any price robs men of fresh air to breathe and clean water to drink. Technology without ethics endangers man and makes him an object of manipulation. To deny men their birth rights is the cause of permanent danger to peace in society and the community of nations. Steps toward peace are manifested in the trust of men and nations toward each other. For this, the Church offers its good services. This is why the Pope travels from continent to continent. We pray that the upcoming disarmament negotiations in Geneva will reduce the weapons chambers on earth, and some day make them superfluous. The closing of all ideological weapons arsenals will be another fruit on the road to peace. 'Whoever acknowledges me before men will also be acknowledged by the son of man before the angels of God.' Profession of faith has consequences for eternity, and eternity has consequences for our speech and silence here in the temporal. The testimony of Christians is not only a profession in words, but living testimony of

discipleship. There is no professing faith without actual discipleship. The Christian is always faced with the alternative of obeying either God or men. The decision can only be: 'One must obey God more than men.' It was so in the past, and it will always remain relevant. In view of the war guilt we shall not bend down to throw rocks at the generation before us, but we shall humbly beat our own breast because we, the present generation, have neglected to believe more determinedly, to hope less reservedly, and to love more radically. Since the person of Christ is our peace and our reconciliation, our contribution to a brotherly and thus peaceful world can only consist in a more faithful imitation of Christ. Amen."

9917

CSO: 2300/317

HUNGARY

POST WWI TREATMENT OF ROMANIAN, HUNGARIAN MINORITIES

Romanians in Hungary, 1920

Budapest HISTORIA IN Hungarian No 5-6, 1984 pp 36-42

[Article by Janos Kende - Peter Sipos: "Romanian Troops in Hungary," written in response to the Mircea Musat-Florian Tanasescu article, "Status of Minorities in Romanian State of 1918." For an English translation, see JPRS 82872, No 2107 of the East Europe PSM series, 16 Feb 83.]

[Text] We do not intend to deal with the attitude of M. Musat and F. Tanasescu as manifested in their writing. Thus we are not going to explain our stand on the method suitable for a Marxist view of history or on the relationship between class and nation. For a better understanding, we are going to limit our comments to a few corrections of facts.

1. According to the authors, the multi-national character of the East European countries originated from "the fierce anti-national policies of the absolutist big powers and the mass settlement of foreign ethnic groups." To our knowledge, however, the Habsburg absolutism and the following dualist government did not implement in Hungary's territories, annexed by Romania in 1920, any institutional and large-scale settlements that changed the ethnic distribution in the Hungarians' favor. If new and authentic documents emerged in this regard recently, they should be published.

2. M. Musat and F. Tanasescu think that "the final borderline between Romania and Hungary was not drawn until the end of WWI." It is a fact, however, that there was indeed a border between Romania and Hungary (a part of the dualistic monarchy) before 1914, which was historic and was mutually recognized by both parties according to international law. Even the 2 July 1915 Romanian ministerial council recognized the border lines of that time, declaring the country's neutrality. This situation changed only when monarchic Romania entered the war. Other than that, not only the two countries but Europe and the rest of the world as well, considered those borders as "final," as attested to by the existing official maps of that time.

3. The article mentions "well-known military skirmishes," considering the cause of which to be "the massacre of the peaceful Romanian population" on the other side of the demarcation line and "the revolutionary government's threat of intervention against Romania." Then it mentions the 19-20 July 1919 offensive of the Hungarian Red Army against the Romanian army.

Since the authors failed to separate the individual historical periods, it must be emphasized that the statements above are related to the Soviet Republic of Hungary.

Below is our concise summary of facts related to the Hungarian Soviet Republic's threat of "intervention" against the Romanian bourgeois monarchy:

It was 10 April 1919 when the Romanian Crown Council decided an armed offensive against the Hungarian Soviet Republic. The next day the chief of staff issued the order to begin the offensive, the objective of which was the Vasarosnameny-Debrecen-Oroshaza-Szeged line and the Tisza River. In the night of 15-16 April the offensive began and did not find much resistance outside of a few outposts. Thus there were no armed forces on the Hungarian side of the demarcation line threatening Romania.

The Romanian army reached the Tisza River on 1 May. The day before the Romanian government requested permission from the Supreme Council in Paris to occupy Budapest. Authorization was not given, for the big powers still preferred political means for the liquidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is evident, however, that the Romanian bourgeois state strived not only for acquiring new territories and booty but also for overthrowing the Soviet Republic, as early as the beginning of May, through direct armed aggression.

In his ultimatum of 14 July 1919, French prime minister Clemenceau demanded that the Hungarian Red Army surrender the territories occupied in the northern campaign and retreat within the borders that were declared by the peace conference as final. He promised that "in the moment when the Hungarian troops leave Czechoslovakia, the Romanian units will be withdrawn." The Red Army withdrew indeed but the Romanian units did not move. It was evident that the Entente deluded the soviet government through false promises. The Revolutionary Governing Council authorized on 10 July the preparation for the offensive to recapture the territory east of the Tisza River. The offensive began on 20 July. The Romanian army, which had more and better equipped troops, began a counter-offensive 4 days later, crossed the Tisza River during the night of 29-30 July and took Budapest on 4 August.

4. According to the authors, the Romanian occupation (unlike the German, Austrian and Hungarian occupation of Romania during WWI or the 1940 Hungarian occupation of North-Transylvania)" did not have a character of revenge or looting," Romanian military authorities took care of the population and even "re-established citizen and liberty rights that were eliminated by the revolution" (!). Thus the 1919 bourgeois-monarchic regime of Romania was more progressive than the workers' power represented by the socialist Soviet Republic which not only "limited" but eliminated the right to exploit. The Budapest daily papers were allowed to appear on 28 September, i.e., more than a month and a half after the occupation of the capital city. Romanian military censorship was an indispensable element of the free press claimed by the authors to have been re-established; this censorship was noted on the front page of every paper. The marching in of the Romanina army was followed in several places by terroristic events. According to data, which are far from complete and which are based not on reminiscences but on death and exhumation registers and diplomatic and police reports of that time, political prisoners and Red soldiers were



executed by Romanian units in Kisvarda, Hodmezovasarhely, Jasszentandras, Monor, and Vac. Most of the executed were civilians, and there were 14- and 16-year olds among the victims. Public flogging of prisoners was a common sight in Romanian-occupied areas.

According to the testimony of their own posters of that time, the Romanian occupiers took measures in liquidating the Soviet power, in a compulsory registering of Red soldiers, communists and revolutionary officials, in imposing a curfew and a war indemnity. The Romanian headquarters in Budapest stated in its first proclamation that it was forbidden to have any kind of a meeting or to be on the streets in groups exceeding 5 persons.

5. Admittedly, the occupation authorities allowed at the end of September and early October the Social Democratic Party of Hungary and the trade unions to hold several meetings. The reason for this was that the Social Democratic Party of Hungary wanted the overthrow of the Friedrich administration which coincided with the objectives of Romanian politics. For the Bucharest government wanted to see a government which would abide by Romania's further economic and territorial demands. We think that the leaders of the Social Democratic Party and the unions were correct in trying to exploit the possibilities inherent in the antagonism above for the cause of the worker movement. Of course, there was no word about a "recognition" mentioned in the article. The top officials of the Social Democratic Party of Hungary supported the liberation of Budapest by the National Army led by Horthy only because, to use the words of Erno Garami, social democratic politician, "the postponement of the Hungarian Army's entrance would have meant a prolongation of the Romanian occupation. We could not accept the blame for this, so much the less as we all wanted the occupation to end as soon as possible."

6. It is historical fact that the Romanian army took significant volumes of production materials, raw materials, products and vehicles out of Hungary. The value of dismounted machines and equipment taken away amounted to 1.5 billion gold crowns.

They took 1,516 machines, 6,000 tons of metals and other materials from Csepel alone, they almost completely emptied the Gyon Cannon Factory, taking away 1,930 machines. Prime minister Bratianu told Clark, a British diplomat, that the maximum volume of requisitions on enemy territory, i.e., in Hungary, was fixed at 30 percent of the various goods. In fact, however, this was more like the minimum...Romanian requisition assumed such a degree that the other neighboring countries which also demanded reparations from Hungary protested at the Supreme Council of Paris. For this reason the Entente committee of generals in Budapest sent out officers to the railroad crossing point on the Tisza River to stop, or at least register, the transports out of Hungary. According to the 6 October 1919 report of British major Borrow, 32,168 rail cars and locomotives crossed the Tisza towards Romania by 4 October, 10,384 of which were definitely carrying not war materials but other goods. And it still took months after this for the Romanian army to completely withdraw from Hungary's territory.



### Homan-Barbul Correspondence

Budapest HISTORIA in Hungarian No 5-6, 1984 pp 40-42

[Text] In 1940 monarchic Romania lost most of its territories acquired in 1918-19. Bessarabia was united with the Soviet Union, southern Dobrudgia was given back to Bulgaria, and the northern half of Transylvania, the largest acquisition, was given back to Hungary by the Vienna arbitration made under the supervision of the German and Italian foreign ministries. Following the 30 August decision, the Hungarian Army entered North Transylvania and the Scekely land between 5 and 13 September. A military administration was set up in the re-annexed territory operating until 26 November.

These are the events, also known from handbooks, which provide background for the correspondence below. The passions and emotional storms elicited by these "events" in those who lived through them, are shown in the letters. Their authors were middle class conservative intellectuals who became politicians. They are former friends who did not meet again after 1918.

Jeno Barbul was already 67, ill and retired. He was born in 1873 in the Transylvanian Szamoslippe (Romania). His parents were middle-class Hungarian-speaking Romanians. In 1897 he was a student at the Royal Hungarian University of Sciences in Budapest and, immediately following his graduation in 1900, he became an assistant at the University Library. His doctoral dissertation in 1900 was entitled "The Dialect of the Avas Region." The ethnological and geographical description in this little thesis proves that the author knew well and loved the Szatmar region inhabited by two ethnic groups, Romanians and Hungarians. As he wrote, this is the region where the mountain streams have many rapids and where, even in purely Romanian villages, the Hungarian peasants go to wash wool and even settle. About the question of the origins of the language, he avoided the Dacian or Balkanian theories but his stand was closer to the pre-10th century Dacian origin. None of this led to a search for some kind of continuity. He thought that the Romanians of Avas are descendents of the Romanian soldiers called in by king Ladislaus V (Kun) at the end of the 13th century, to be settled in Maramaros. He had a sober and acientific attitude about the times preceding the politically heated Romanian-Hungarian debate. It was in the University Library where he met Balint Homan in 1903 who was 12 years his junior, still a university student, working in the library as a "helping officer". They were climbing the ladder of hierarchy, Barbul always one step ahead of Homan in pay category. Barbul was promoted in 1904 to librarian (Homan was promoted to that in 1908). In 1914 he was already "university librarian" which is the highest title for a librarian under the director. (Homan received this title in 1915.) Under director Zoltan Ferenczi, the renowned literary historian, there was a highly professional team working. Some members remained friends even in later years. Ivan Pasteiner who later became a renowned art historian and was a good friend of Homan's, renowned historian Pal Lukcsics and literary historian Lajos Dezse. The young Homan was the most talented among them, in his early twenties he published several smaller papers in scientific journals, was elected member of societies and was considered by his peers a historian and scholar of the future. He also had a dynamic social life, in which he found Jeno Barbul a good buddy who at

that time had already affixed his title of nobility to his name "of Gaura and Somezo". He was an intimate friend of Miklos Szemere, a key figure in the social life of the turn of the century, friend and character of Krudy's. (As it is known, Krudy modeled the main character of Avoros Postakocs: [The Red Mail-Coach] after Szemere.) Together with Szemere he did editorial work for the journal CEL [Goal] as well as for SZENT-LORINCZ CELLOVESZETI LAPOK. He was probably instrumental in the publication of Homan's paper in the journal. The two librarian-friends even lived on the same street, on the Baross Street just developed not too far from the library.

After Transylvania was given to Romania after the world war, Barbul went home where he was appointed director of the historic University of Kolozsvár's library. He also took part in monarchic Romania's politics: with a mandate of his homeland (Szatmar County) he was a representative at the Parliament for two terms. He retired in 1935.

Balint Homan--as one can find out in the encyclopedias--had a rapidly rising and outstanding scientific career after the war, his political career was just as rapid but unsuccessful. In the 1920's he was first library director and then museum director. Together with his friend Gyula Szekfu he wrote "Hungarian History," a representative historical summary of the period. In 1932 he was minister of religion and public education in Gyula Gombos' administration, and member of every administration up to 1942 with the exception of one year. Thus in 1940, he was again minister of religion and public education in Pal Teleki's administration, at the time of the second Vienna arbitration and the re-annexation of North Transylvania. After the takeover, he visited Transylvania right away, of course.

We could perhaps also say that his political career almost represents the gradually increasing confusion of the political leadership between the two wars. As a historian, he was convinced that the main issue of Hungarian politics had to be the reacquisition of the lost territories, the re-establishment of historic Hungary. And after the German annexation of Austria, Bohemia and Moravia in 1938 and the establishment of German power in Central Europe after territorial and diplomatic successes, Homan became convinced that Hungary may attain her revisionistic goals only on Hitler's side. This was the reason why he found it necessary to make concessions to the Germans even in internal policies. He who a few years earlier was a representative of the liberals and the generation of rightwing reforms as well as a respected scholar, now became one of the ministerial exponents of the government's right wing.

At the same time, whenever the pressure of foreign policies--which he considered necessary--was absent, Homan stood fast by the remnants of his liberal principles, including the ethnic policies. He was one of the main supporters of Pal Teleki who, referring to Hungarian interests, tried to implement a patient ethnic policy in the re-annexed territories. Recognizing the consequences of the mistakes of pre-1918 ethnic policies, he believed that if we want the reannexed Slovak and Romanian ethnic population to be loyal to the Hungarian state, we must provide for them a basis for their ethnic existence. This attitude was the basis for their ethnic existence. This attitude was the basis of the patient measures of ethnic policy mentioned by the "Kultusf" [from "Kultusfminisfter," i.e.

Minister of Culture] Homan, who looked strange in the traditional Hungarian formal attire, was called by his contemporaries) in his letter to his one-time friend. Unfortunately--partly because of the local authorities, the chronic disease of Hungarian political life--so little of it was implemented. But this was the reality perceived and seen by the average man...

Finally, a personal memory. In 1972 I spent a year at an institution abroad, together with a Romanian colleague of my age. Only long debates lasting through the night eased his negative feelings. I have shown him for the first time, after returning from my summer vacation at home, the correspondence found among Homan's papers, as a document of debates leading to a dead-end street. We have been friends since then. Now, after 12 years, when the argument of "a thousand years" can be heard again among historians and publicists, it may be interesting to look at the obsessions of the past still around today.

1. To the Right Honorable Minister of Religion and Public Education, Dr Balint Homan, Budapest

Your Excellency,

My dear Friend,

I was told that at your most recent official visit at Kosozsvar you visited the University Library and expressed your complete satisfaction over the exemplary order and cleanliness you found there. I hear that you were especially pleased to find the same old Hungarian team among the respectful officers that was taken over in 1919 and maintained in its high rank by the Romanian Government. You found there chief librarian Antal Valentiny, chief archivist Lajos Kelemen, librarians Monoki, Balogh, Andrasovszky, typist Margit Balogh, laboratory technicians Jozsef Nagy, Farkas Erdei, Mathe, Kovacs etc...only those of the old guard were absent who died or reached retirement age like myself.

You know that I was the director of the library between 1920 and 1935, i.e., for 15 years, during which time I tried, with the help of my Hungarian and Romanian colleagues, to build the library to put it on a par with European libraries.

According to the intentions of the governments, I kept every single one of the old Hungarian personnel who took the oath of allegiance, and I never gave my Hungarian colleagues preferential treatment. As I hear, this was unanimously stated to you by the Hungarian staff, adding that I was a strict but a well-meaning and fair chief.

Dear Balint, we are old friends. We spent almost 20 years together as librarians in the University Library in Budapest, mutually respecting and loving each other. I always respected you for your drive and talent, your truly Hungarian and noble thinking, your being a gentleman of unimpeachable character, and our long friendship proves that you felt the same way towards me.

This friendship is what gives me the right to send this letter to you and to ask you what you think, after your Kolozsvar experience, of the inhuman treatment of the poor Romanian population living in the reannexed part of Transylvania?

I believe you were saddened when you heard how innocent and unarmed old people, women and children are being killed. How the possessions of Romanian intellectuals were taken away and how humiliatingly they were put in freight cars, bishops, priests, gentile women and children together, 40 persons in one car, spending 2 or 3 days on the tracks without food and water until they were finally put across the border, many of them languid or delirious from suffering and pain.<sup>1</sup>

Dear Balint, I ask you, as Hungary's cultural minister and a real Hungarian gentleman: is this procedure permissible in the 20th century? Does this treatment comply with the spirit of the Evian arbitration?...which was supposed to create peace and friendship among the peoples of East Europe!

Balint, in our youth we dreamed about a Hungarian-Romanian friendship. We thought that it was our mutual existential interest. Here, in the middle of a Slavic ocean, live two non-Slavic peoples: Hungarians and Romanians, surrounded by Russians, Bulgarians, Servians, Bosnians, Croats, Ruthenians and Slovaks. A real Slavic ocean, in the middle of which stands the small island of Hungarians and Romanians, facing a complete national annihilation in case of a strong storm. Is this hateful and revengeful procedure justifiable and permissible under such circumstances? Where will this lead? Almost 1.4 million Romanians live in a large group in the area of re-annexed Transylvania. Can this mass be liquidated or chased out?<sup>2</sup> What would happen if the Romanian Government were also to take revenge, on the basis of an "eye for eye" and "tooth for tooth" political principle, giving the same treatment to Hungarians living in Romania?!<sup>3</sup> God forbid! We may ruthlessly massacre one another through revenge--but we cannot thus create a Romanian-Hungarian friendship!

With the greetings of an old and true friend,

Dr Jenő Barbul

2. To the Honorable Dr Jenő Barbul, retired chief librarian, Bucharest, 29 January 1941

Dear Jenő:

Because of my exceptionally busy schedule and official trips, I am only now in the position of being able to answer your kind letter, which I received early last month, in detail. I ask for your understanding of the delay. I also am happy to think back at the 15 years we spent in the offices of the Budapest University Library and at our relationship that was always kind and friendly. I, too, remember our talks about the Hungarian and Romanian peoples' dependence on one another and about the necessity of understanding. Unfortunately, instead of the rapprochement that we were hoping for, a complete detachment came soon about, not because of the peoples but because of statesmen who were insensitive towards the historic past as well as towards reality. Transylvanian Hungarians had to endure great humiliations and injuries for 20 years. Even though there were understanding and humane high-ranking state employees such as yourself as testified by the Hungarian colleagues, most of the new people in power used every possible means to make the lives of our Hungarian people, living on its ancient land, difficult and to hinder its economic and cultural



advance. Because of them, an almost unbridgeable rift was created between Transylvanian Hungarians and Romanians as the great turn of tide came about last summer.

With the reannexation of a large part of the 1000 year-old Hungarian State's Transylvania region, the Hungarian Government refrained from revenge; on the contrary, it employed, and still employs today, every means for developing a spirit of trust and understanding. His excellency the prime minister contacted the Romanians' church and political leaders right after the reannexation. He listened to their grievances and requests, encouraging them to nominate Romanian representatives to be sent to the Hungarian Parliament. The fact that this has not happened to date is exclusively the result of the Romanian Government's attitude in the issue of accord and of the expulsion of thousands of Hungarians who remained in southern Transylvania; these events create an extremely negative feeling in Hungarian public opinion, and his excellency the Prime Minister did not wish to expose the Romanian representatives to possible demonstrations.<sup>4</sup> Every Hungarian official as well as Transylvania's Hungarians, who suffered much, emphasized to us the necessity of this. And we, members of the government, together with the authorities, tried to work in this spirit of understanding. I myself used administrative means to replace voluntarily left Romanian teachers with teachers who speak Romanian so that children can get an education in their own mother tongue. According to existing demand, I saw to it that Romanian secondary schools or classes be maintained or established. The Hungarian university in Kolozsvár, beginning a new life in its ancient setting, had to admit every Romanian applicant without limitations. Romanian clergy received the same treatment as the rest, getting salary advances until their status is cleared--it is just now that I want to increase these advances. I confirmed the employment of a large number of Romanian teachers who stayed, just as my ministerial colleagues did with their employees. These measures of mine serve only to demonstrate the spirit with which we handle the affairs of Romanians in Hungary.<sup>5</sup> We are led by the spirit of peace and understanding, for our goal is to make the coexistence of the many peoples here easier, and to foster their economic and cultural growth for the benefit of our country. The situation of Romanians in Hungary is much more secure, their lives are much more peaceful than that of the Hungarians were in Transylvania for 20 years and that of our brothers still under Romanian rule.

There were no armed conflicts between various groups of the population under Hungarian administration. Whenever there was a need, during or immediately after our entrance, for strict military measures and stiff penalties, in every case it was a reprisal against some individuals or groups who were enticed to have an armed attack against Hungarian soldiers, who made an attempt on someone's life or who used violence in disobeying official orders. There may have been a few hundred expulsions (as opposed to the expulsion of thousands of Hungarians) and some persons may have been treated unjustly but this was only a replication to the fact that thousands of Hungarians, whose lives were made intolerable through harassments and who were told in no uncertain terms to leave, were fleeing to us from the southern regions. The government and the army headquarters officially investigated every such case; on this basis, I can say with a good conscience that no one can speak of persecution of Romanians in Hungary. We know absolutely nothing of the "killing of innocent children,

feeble women and unarmed old people and confiscating the possessions of Romanian intellectuals", as you write in your letter, except perhaps from the enticing and malicious reports of the Romanian press and radio.<sup>6</sup> My dear friend, let me express my surprise that you and others of your erudition give credit to such allegations, especially you, knowing us Hungarians and our history so well. These rumors created, unfortunately, an uneasy atmosphere in Hungary, and the only thing they accomplished was a renewed anger in those Hungarians who remembered the past 20 years, reproaching the authorities who still refuse to severely punish, on the principle of measure for measure, the innocent masses of Romanians in Hungary.

But if you indeed believe these allegations, then I understand that it gave you pain to learn that a few hundred expelled Romanian intellectuals were suffering for 2 or 3 days in freight cars. I truly understand, for memories of events that happened 20 years ago come alive, when thousands of Hungarian officials, tradesmen, merchants and other intellectuals, fleeing from the Romanian oppression or expelled en masse from Transylvania, spent months in freight cars in the railroad stations of our capital city and other larger cities. We were not ready at that time to take adequate care of 200,000 expelled Hungarians; we were forced to leave them for months in the "cattle cars" supplied by the Romanian Government for their transport; we were helpless to see so many good Hungarians dying and being born under such conditions, including several personal acquaintances.<sup>7</sup>

But I repeat what I said at the beginning of my letter, namely, that we are trying to forget these memories, we are not thinking of any kind of revenge, for we know that nations living together and next to one another need a mutual understanding and trust, their mission being not litigation and rancor but peaceful work. Unfortunately, we have not noticed to date that this attitude of ours is being shared abroad, this is why I am happy to tell you all of this in response to your letter. I hope that if, after learning about these facts and attitudes, you can inform your friends and perhaps officials as well, we can greatly promote the clearing-up of the atmosphere resulting from the work of evil propagandists and shrewd troublemakers.

My views and thoughts are rooted in my historical essays, and none of them have changed since the times we worked together in the library. They are shared by every member of the Hungarian Government and every significant Hungarian faction. These are the views we are constantly trying to spread both in our official and social capacities. However, loyalty must be demanded for loyalty, sincerity must be demanded for sincerity, for otherwise all of our efforts toward the development of a mutual trust and understanding will be in vain. You are right in that "revengeful policies will never create a Romanian-Hungarian friendship", but I must add, we do not, and will not in the future, have such a revengeful policy.

Greetings with the same old friendship,

Your true devotee



3. Dear Balint:

It was only a few days ago when I received your kind letter of 29 January of this year. First of all, let me thank you that you took the time, in spite of your busy schedule, to answer in detail the informal letter of an old friend who truly respects you.

However, I am truly sorry to have come to the conclusion after reading your letter that the ideal, in the interest of which I wrote to you and to which I was faithful all my life, is a utopia. I am convinced now that it is useless to dream of a possible Hungarian-Romanian accord and brotherhood. If even you and I cannot understand one another, what can we expect of people who, on the one hand, are not as familiar as we are with the events that took place and who, on the other hand, may even lack the degree of objectiveness and impartiality that we both have.

You are, dear Balint, still a young man and I believe you will live to see the time when everyone will come to the recognition that it would have been so good if the two nations, the Hungarian and the Romanian which have been living next to one another in the middle of the great Slavic ocean for centuries, would have understood one another and, instead of hating one another, would have become eternal friends and allies in the same league, respecting each other's beliefs, language, independence and freedom...

Dear Balint, accept my warmest greetings,

Your true friend,

Jeno Barbul

Herkulesfurdo, 16 May 1941

FOOTNOTES

1. Atrocities had to be reported to the prime minister's office. On the fanaticism following the reannexation and on the limited attitude of local authorities, cf. Lorant Tilkovszky, "Revizio es nemzetisegpolitika Magyarorszagon 1938-1941" [Revision and Ethnic Policy in Hungary 1938-1941], Budapest 1967, pp 286-287. On the issue of state officials, ibid, pp 296-297.
2. In reality, 2,185,546 people were reannexed, of which 51.4 percent were Hungarians, 42.1 percent Romanian.
3. Vid. Daniel Csatari, "Forgoszelben. Magyar-roman viszony, 1940-1945." [In the Tornado: Hungarian-Romanian Relations, 1940-1945], Budapest, 1968.
4. Vid. Gyula Juhasz, "A Teleki-kormany kulpolitikaja 1939-1941" [The Foreign Policy of the Teleki Administration 1939-1941], Budapest, 1964.

5. Cf. Sandor Barcs, "Budapest-Nagyvarad. Talalkozások Teleki Pallal" [Budapest-Nagyvarad. Meetings with Pal Teleki], HISTORIA, 1984/2.
6. With reference to these cases, cf. Tilkovszky, op. cit.
7. Cf. Otto Szabolcs, "Tisztviselők az I. világháború után" [State Officials After WWI], HISTORIA, 1982/1.

Archive of the National Szechenyi Library, Fond 15.

Disclosed by Ferenc Glatz

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HUNGARY

FREEDOM OF ASSEMBLY, ASSOCIATION AS LEGAL RIGHTS UNDER SOCIALISM

Budapest ELET ES TUDOMANY in Hungarian 5 Feb 85 page not available

/Article by Dr Istvan Kukorelli: "Freedom of Assembly and Association"/

/Text/ The freedom of assembly can be found as early as in the classic collection of human rights of the Declaration of Human and Civil Rights, to serve from the time of its announcement as the basic constitutional right in the fundamental law of virtually every civil state. Restrictions to protect the existing social system were created at the same time. A good example to illustrate these boundaries is the 1831 Belgian Constitution that can be considered as the model for civil constitutions: citizens were permitted to gather only peacefully and without arms, their openair assemblies could only be held respecting the regulations of the police authorities, and the police authorities had the constitutional right, spelled out in the law, to control and participate in these gatherings.

In the first socialist constitution--continuing the tradition of the class struggle of the workers' movement--freedom of assembly was the right of workers. According to the constitution of the Hungarian Soviet Republic: "The freedom of assembly of workers is total under the Soviet Republic. Every proletarian has the right to gather and organize demonstrations freely." Today's socialist constitutions still exercise this freedom in the broad sense of the word. According to broad interpretation, the restrictions--although freedom of assembly, even in the socialist state, is not an absolute right--are not at the constitutional level. In general, they can be found in "lower degree" rules. It would be appropriate in modern socialist political systems to raise these regulations (or at least their principles) to constitutional level.

Our constitution guarantees the freedom of assembly according to the interests of the people and socialism. From this point of view assemblies held on public land or other public places are judged differently from meetings organized in their own facilities by institutions, social organizations, cooperatives and other registered associations. In the case of the latter, any kind of state intervention is out of the question. No permission is needed for demonstrations or assemblies on public land or other public places, but the place and date of such events have to be reported by the organizers to the police authorities. This report merely serves the purpose of public, traffic, fire, etc. safety, which is to say it is not an opportunity for the state regulatory

organ to exert political control or administrative power. Naturally, this freedom can be exercised always according to the democracy of political conditions.

Many similarities to the right of assembly can be found in citizens' right of association. The right of association emerged from the right of assembly, and became a basic right of its own during the 19th century, at the time of the birth of parties. In the development of the civil state the right to establish associations is not an inalienable human right: associations can only be founded if they respect the conditions stipulated in the law, or--in the Anglo-Saxon law system, where in general, no permission is needed--the "freely joined" associations are to be bound by the law.

In the socialist constitution, as well, the right of association is a basic civil right that gives people the right to create social types of organizations, or to join already existing social organizations. The association is a special form of social organ above which the state exercises control. Compared to state organs, however, other social organizations, business federations, the People's Front, the Trade Union, TIT, MTESZ, etc., are in an adjunct position. The distinction is important and necessary because of the considerable differences in the possibility and degree of state intervention.

It can hardly be debated that control over associations is justified--but constitutional guarantees are needed for the degree of state intervention. The "possibility of intervention" is primarily exercised through letting any association start to function legally only after registering it. Control of this is the task of the minister of the interior. The overseeing organ (and the organ of internal affairs) are also entitled to check on the organizational work that is done to establish the association. It is not a system of closed guarantees that works in this form of intervention, as the degree of intervention is regulated by "discretionary norms" (for instance, if the purpose of the association is in opposition to the state, social and economic order of the Hungarian People's Republic, the overseeing organ may order the organizers to stop their activities).

The restrictions should not be given in uncertain, vague legal terms (public interest, etc.). This kind of regulatory method would dissolve the legal guarantees. This uncertainty is the explanation for the debates on founding associations in recent years (Association of Hungarian Naturalists, Association for the Sponsorship of Residences in Ujpalota, Association of Small Businesses in Budapest, etc.). It would be timely to regulate by decrees the freedom of association according to the constitution and decrease the number of norms that give state regulatory organs the possibility of deliberation.

Since the birth of the 1981 decree on state regulatory procedures interested parties can take to the court the decision of the state regulatory organ that denies the registration of their new association. "Plugging in" the court is a very valuable constitutional guarantee.

As an authority the state overseeing organ can intervene in the life of associations only following prescribed methods and in circumscribed events (given

that they are social organizations of the self-governing types). In the event of violation of law or breach of statutes, the state organ may repeal the decision of the association, suspend its self-government, appoint a superintendent, and in more severe cases may dissolve the association. The decision on dissolution may be reviewed by the court.

Associations keep their independence even if they group into a federation. In this case the higher organ of interest representation (corporate body, national council) may not direct the local association, as this is not a subordinate or superior relationship. The social importance of the freedom of association is well illustrated by the following data: on 1 January 1983 there were 6,570 associations in the country with a membership reaching 2,304,500.

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HUNGARY

JOURNAL REJOINDER TO ROMANIAN ATTACK

Budapest KRITIKA in Hungarian No 3, 1985 p 2

[Editorial. This article is a rejoinder to an article published in Bucharest by ROMANIA LITERARA of 6 December 1985 and translated in JPRS Report EPS-85-008 of 15 January 1985. The original KRITIKA article which generated the polemic appeared in August 1984 and is translated in JPRS Report EPS-85-035 of 19 March 1985.]

[Text] In the August 1984 issue of KRITIKA we published, under the title "Concerning the Reasons for a Resignation", a 1943 memorandum of Vilmos Nagy, minister of defense, prepared for Milkos Horthy and in September we published a 1946 study by Istvan Bibó titled "The Start of Hungarian Democracy". These two documents had not been printed previously and we felt that publication might contribute to giving the present reader a better understanding of the sort of ideas which guided the players in Hungarian political life at that time.

The authors of both documents turned--although tangentially--to the question of the Trianon borders, expressing their opinions about the Hungarian and Romanian positions at that time in connection with territorial questions. This serves as a pretext now for the Bucharest weekly ROMANIA LITERARA to criticize our journal in two articles.

In connection with the memorandum of Vilmos Nagy the coauthors of ROMANIA LITERARA, Florin Constantiniu and Mihai Ionescu, inform their readers even in the introduction that by publishing the document the editors of KRITIKA "propagate certain fascist, chauvinist, revanchist, anti-Romanian ideals and thoughts." They then recount "the story as it really was"--according to them--and their final conclusion based on this goes as follows: "Lacking a critical commentary and an objective analysis of the facts, publication of the text of Vilmos Nagy is far from contributing to a recognition of historical truth; in practice it represents a serious falsification of history. By publishing this material the journal KRITIKA brings the Horthyist regime and one of the leaders of it back into the present, and in an implicit form gives currency to anti-Romanian, revanchist theses. One can find in the commentary of the editors of the text a tendency aimed--it would appear--at a rehabilitation of Horthyism."



ROMANIA LITERARA reacted in a similar manner to publication of the Bibó study, bringing in different coauthors--Dinu C. Giurescu and Al. Gh. Savu--who added to a repetition of the charges of revanchism and chauvinism that we were propagating "an anti-Romanian attitude gathered from the arsenal of imperialistic politics." The historical information of this pair of authors is stuck at a level where, if you please, the program of the 1848 Hungarian revolution "prescribed the annexation of largely foreign territories inhabited by nations more numerous than the Hungarians" and from which a demand could be formulated according to which "the Hungarian people must be told, what they already know, that Transylvania was never a Hungarian land but rather only an area conquered by the Hungarian Kingdom."

Originally our editors did not intend to respond to the ROMANIA LITERARA articles, just as even now we do not intend to react to their characterizations. We do not want to reciprocate their message to the Hungarian people with a message addressed to the Romanian people either. We do not intend to orient domestic public opinion with debate articles criticizing such distorted symptoms but rather with the publication of reports about the values of contemporary Romanian culture, reports which strengthen mutual trust and sympathy (as could be read, for example, in our October issue). But the case has aroused a response in the world press also; indeed, a few commentaries even sniffed a "political quarrel" from the articles of ROMANIA LITERARA. It is true that the official Romanian press organs gave publicity to the articles of the Romanian journal in broad international forums. This campaign does not contribute to strengthening Hungarian-Romanian contacts. These facts justify our making two observations in order to inform our readers about the matter.

The first is that we have never intervened to say that ROMANIA LITERARA or any other Romanian journal should or should not publish documents from the period of Romanian fascism, the Antonescu dictatorship or the Maniu Guardists. Nor do we cast doubt on their right to describe Hungarian fascism in accordance with the facts. We do not see anti-Hungarianism in this. But as to what notes or commentaries must be provided with this sort of publication, this question can be decided only by those experts and editors with real political responsibility who are able to survey the needs of the intellectual conditions there at home. As for us, intellectual life in Hungary requires and cultural policy supports a documented credible awareness of the historical past (naturally interpreted with the Marxist view). Furthermore, the intellectual state of affairs and the debating atmosphere here are such that the publication of instructive historical documents cannot have the effect of an ill-willed actualization, and so cannot give life to, for example, "fascist, chauvinist, revanchist" or even "anti-Romanian" ideals. The readers of a journal such as KRITIKA do not have to have it explained to them in each and every case with prolix analyses and commentaries rammed down their throats what a difference there is between the contemporary socialist conception of history and the erstwhile positions of Vilmos Nagy or even István Bibó. Our journal published the information necessary for our public in a satisfactory way with notes attached to the documents; we are far from treating uncritically the position or political role of an erstwhile Horthyist minister and a bourgeois savant. It is

possible that this information is not sufficient or not sufficiently understandable for the authors of ROMANIA LITERARA, with their awareness of conditions there. But we do not edit KRITIKA for them.

Our other observation is that, if you please, it would have been useful for the authors of ROMANIA LITERARA to become acquainted with the facts in a more fundamental way if they wanted to comment on these questions. Limiting ourselves only to the case of Vilmos Nagy, the Romanian authors make Vilmos Nagy responsible for the fact that after the Vienna decision "the majority Romanian population in Northern Transylvania," as they put it, was persecuted mercilessly, making use of the known arsenal of fascism--massacres, arrests, deportations, etc." Well, a witness more credible to us than the authors of ROMANIA LITERARA, Petru Groza, the outstanding Romanian statesman, judged Vilmos Nagy entirely differently. His own letter shows how differently.

Nr.....

Bucharest, 27 December 1957

Vilmos Nagy, Philiscsaba

Dear Vilmos,

I thank you for your lines of the 5th of this month and for your interest regarding my new sickness, connected with the operation.

In the matter of your request regarding return of real estate, I took a look at the text of the law in effect there and as I see it your request would be in order legally.

As for objections connected with your person and your activity in the past, I feel that enough material is available to you even there which bears witness clearer than day and which we your friends have known for a lifetime and which we offered proof of so readily at the time of our meeting with the then party and government leaders of Hungary in Budapest, but especially in Moscow (on the occasion of Stalin's funeral), that you acted fairly.

You have the correspondence on this, you just have to look for it. They also found that it was an error to list you among those who once took antipeople, race-hatred and dishonorable paths. On the contrary, they saw and Erno Kiss documents in his gray and black book that you remained a human being under all circumstances, coming to the aid of the persecuted from the high rank which you held, for which the fascist regime and Hitler brought you down, put you under house arrest, then put you in the hands of the Gestapo and carried you so far away.

But you have all the literature on this there. Show it at the appropriate place; there may be someone who will read it and who will prevent in time the new error now preparing, so that the tragic consequence of the first error might not be repeated.

Nothing should prevent your making use of the material at your disposal and which will create light in this question.

Unfortunately circumstances are not favorable for me to become involved in the matter again; I cannot touch it officially; I cannot intervene in the affairs of your homeland.

With love,

Your old student comrade

P.S. I also have nice letters from other old student comrades. Unfortunately I have not gotten around to answering them due to my new and now a little annoying convalescent condition. Tell them that I thank them for their warm lines and greet them with love. A happy new year to all of you and to your families!

Erno Tokes was here and I talked with him. He will remain here in Marosvasarhely [Targu Mures] with his daughter for the winter. Let him swim in the joys of being a grandfather.

Tell Sandor Nagy also that I am now taking his letters and the attached reading material and will answer them, if I get some air.

Signed, Petru Groza

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HUNGARY

# EMPLOYMENT, LIVING CONDITIONS, GENERAL PROBLEMS OF INTELLECTUALS

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG In Hungarian 31 Jan 85 p 7

[Review by Denes Kovacs of book "As Ertelmiseg Anyagi Erdekliszonyai" ["The Material Interests and Relationships of Intellectuals"] by Eva Szeben, Gisella Tothne Sikora, Zsuzsa Mausecz, Kossuth Press: "About Respecting Intellectuals"]

[Text] The issue of recent changes in the material interests and relationships of intellectuals is a particularly timely one, addressed in a newly released study detailing many years' research in the Kossuth Press' popular series, ECONOMIC POLICY PAPERS. The evaluation of intellectuals' economic status and moral respect is a pressing task because increasing attention has been drawn in recent years to their malaise, and this, as the editors point out, can turn into a social problem as the unfavorable factors in living and working conditions accumulate and reinforce each other. We have seen this happen. Because of our economic difficulties, certain intellectual strata have declined with respect to other income groups, job opportunities for young graduates in certain fields are decreasing, young entrants into certain professions find material worries, and apartment seeking is a serious burden.

Thus special attention must be focused on the intellectuals, because as many party and government decisions have shown, the importance of our society of intellectual work requiring very advanced study is growing, and the total productivity of society can only be increased if intellectuals can rise to their task. For this reason we must try to eliminate the harmful effects which have been felt recently, thereby eliminating the material and moral devaluation of intellectual work which could show its dangerous consequences primarily in the long term. We must make certain that the attractive power of certain intellectual professions does not decline, that the increasing effemination of certain professions does not continue, and, not last, that the pool of talent in certain fields--especially among engineers and technicians--is increased, because decrease carries with it the danger of selection of the unfittest.

Do the intellectuals have reason for this dissatisfaction? Without a doubt they do, even if the intellectuals cannot be considered a united social stratum, with extremely large difference among the various groups in material and moral recognition, living and working conditions. It is a merit of the

study that is successfully attempts to reveal the different situations of the various intellectual groups as well as the overall characteristics.

All of the intellectual stratum is affected by the tendency toward rapid growth in the numbers of people with advanced degrees, in itself a favorable phenomenon, but this tendency is accompanied by the devaluation of the degrees and the dilution of certain professions. Finally, we must grasp the fact that most intellectual professions have become mass pursuits. Our economic difficulties have not favored an improvement in their income either, if only because short-term interests achieved out of necessity have not been adequate to remedy the troubles which have accumulated in the long run.

There can be no doubt that the intellectuals are most disturbed when their material situation and income decreases with respect to other social classes and strata. This is not unique to our country but, as the study shows, an international phenomenon. As in other countries, income differences according to level of education have decreased here, the problem being that the levelling in our country was greater than in many others. Thus, today pay difference between directors and subordinates, engineers and laborers is relatively small, and the income of teachers, doctors, certain classical scholars and scientific researchers has fallen behind that of other professions requiring less advanced educations.

In the given situation, the intellectuals cannot always find more and better work in their place of employment, as others do, to increase their income. Then they are forced to perform surplus work elsewhere, which can adversely affect their primary occupation which again is socially far more useful.

According to statistics provided in the study, career entrant intellectuals will earn the average income of a skilled laborer only at age 28-30; and according to life-income calculations, only at age 36 or above will advanced graduates, on average, have received the same total income as that earned by high school graduates from the time they complete school. Thus study is not lucrative enough for youth or their families, even though they can only expect them to provide the long-term investment needed for advanced study if it is recovered in a relatively short time.

Thus we have many concerns about intellectuals, although it is wrong to overdramatize or underestimate them. This useful study does not rest with outlining the general problems, but details the wage and income situation of industrial engineers, health workers and teachers. It does not try to provide some remedy beyond explaining the facts, but it can help to alleviate the tensions in this area by informing us of the situation. And this is most important because the stratum of the many hundred thousand intellectuals plays a deciding role in social progress, today and tomorrow. The party and the government know the difficulties, and we can be certain that they will be successful, even if in the long run, at improving the intellectuals' condition, their material and moral respect.



HUNGARY

CRIME SITUATION REVIEWED BY ATTORNEY GENERAL

Budapest NPESZABADSAG in Hungarian 20 Feb 85 p 4

/Report of Attorney General Karoly Szijarto: "Common Effort Needed to Stop and Prevent Crime"/

/Text/ Attorney General Karoly Szijarto held a press conference Tuesday on the conclusions that may be drawn from last year's crime statistics and the experiences related to the legality of legislation.

By way of introduction he stated that comparison to data from previous years does not give cause for excessive optimism or serious concern. Crime in our country started to rise considerably 5 years ago. The rate of increase began to moderate last year. In 1984 a total of 157,000 crimes were reported, 3.7 percent more than in the previous year, but the number of those committing a crime--as before--remained around 83,000. The greatest concern continues to be caused by the fact there has been a further increase in the number of those crimes committed by persons whom the authorities have not succeeded in apprehending despite their efforts. For example, 8,000 perpetrators of burglary resulting in loss of personal property remain unknown.

It is a new and noteworthy phenomenon that the number and ratio of dangerous criminals is increasing within total crimes. Compared to the former 30.5 percent, there has also been an increase in the ratio of more serious crimes as compared to lesser crimes; 32.6 percent of the criminal acts were felonies and 67.4 percent lesser crimes. Violent and aggressive-type crime increased by 8 percent to 18,099 instances. The most serious crime in this area, homicide, has been fluctuating for the past 5 years between 200 and 210, last year it was 205. Robberies, on the other hand, continue to rise, their number was 1,635. Crimes against property continue to be the most numerous and make up 60 percent of all criminal acts. Damage caused came to 1 billion 80 million forints. Of this, 573 million forints was damage caused to social property, 8 percent below last year's figure.

Of particular importance is the rise in the number of burglaries, in which a role was played by the carelessness of the victims or their failure to take adequate protection. But the analysis of the causes of crimes against social property also indicate that the handlers of property do not pay adequate attention to property protection. Dr Karoly Szijarto emphasized that important

social interests are linked to a more circumspect selection of guards and policemen, to increase security discipline, and to stricter financial and general control.

This is also indicated by the speculative efforts which have increased parallel with the appearance of new forms of management. The number of abuses is increasing chiefly with the new business forms in the hotel and catering trade, commerce and contractual businesses. Last year, for example, we had to prosecute the operators of 70 contractual units because of embezzlement of social property. In many instances the violations are helped by the fact that the lessors do not keep a record of their requirements, and to not continuously control the fulfillment of the obligations.

Violations also frequently occur in the operation of the capital city headquarters of agricultural producer cooperatives for lack of adequate control and financial supervision. Because of neglected controls, business contracts signed by artisans with public institutions also represent the breeding ground of abuses. The lack of control--in many cases the corruption of control--is the key to understanding the increasing number of bribes damaging the integrity of public life. (Within 5 years there has been a 61-percent increase in this crime category.)

In respect to all this, the attorney general emphasized it is an important task for managers of the economic organizations to devote constant attention to prevention and to appropriate protection of social property. Their personal responsibility must be increased for losses related to negligence. In the past year, prosecutors initiated rules violation or labor right charges in 772 cases against negligent managers.

The analysis of the causes of criminal acts and the initiation of the necessary measures are always important tasks for the prosecutors, and in this way the prosecuting organization--as the attorney general stated above--cooperates in the preparation of government decisions designed to develop organizational conditions for more efficient crime prevention. As shown by experiences with crimes against property, however, the victims must also do more for the prevention of crime--it can be concluded from overall crime figures that society as a whole must accept a greater share in crime prevention activity. We should take as a warning the data showing that in the past 5 years the number of recidivists has more than doubled, and we must therefore strengthen support supervision and the aftercare network. It is very significant that the number of minors committing crimes has increased by 50 percent in the past 4 years, and there has also been an increase in the number of youths using narcotics or materials with a narcotic effect. All this directs attention to the tasks and greater responsibility of the family and youth-protection organs, the school and workplace collectives.

The holding down of crime is a common task assuming manifold and multidirectional activity. And as Dr Karoly Szijarto has stressed, the success of this activity is a very important guarantee of the continuing health of our society.

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HUNGARY

UNIVERSITY, SECONDARY TEACHING OF MARXISM-LENINISM MODERNIZED

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG In Hungarian 6 Feb 85 p 9

/Text/ A staff member of the MTI was brief in the Ministry of Education on the substantive renovation of university and secondary school teaching of Marxism-Leninism. The Agitation and Propaganda Committee of the MSZMP Central Committee took the position in 1982 that besides continuous development and a rise in level essential changes pervading the whole of teaching is necessary. The goal of the substantive modernization is to come closer to present-day reality and to analyze in a profound way the development processes and perspectives of socialist society.

Modernized program plans of the basic subjects have been prepared recently, and these will be published at the beginning of March. The new teaching plan for philosophy devotes greater attention to the discussion of the philosophical questions of our time and to the critical analysis of present-day, bourgeois philosophical trends. After discussion of the basic interrelationships, the science of political economics will present the Marxist-Leninist approach to the present process of capitalist and socialist economy.

According to the program plan for the subject of scientific socialism the political theoretical nature of this subject is being strengthened. The final shaping of the program plan was preceded by broad-scale professional debates; taking these experiences into account, new study materials are being prepared which will be introduced beginning in the 1987-1988 school year. In addition to the Marxist subjects they will also introduce in all institutions of higher learning a subject called "The Most Recent History of Hungary," which after a short introductory section will cover the most important questions of our history following the liberation by showing the international relationships of its development.

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HUNGARY

SKILLED WORKER TRAINEES STIPENDS RAISED

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 31 Jan 85 p 9

/Text/ On 1 February stipends for skilled worker trainees and for students pursuing vocational training at secondary vocational schools will be raised an average of 50 percent, and changes will also be made in the system of allotments. A staff member of the MTI was brief in the Ministry of Education on this and on the reason for the changes.

The delegates at the 10th Congress of KISZ and at the National Student Parliament called for a raise in the stipends, which had not been changed for 15 years, and for updating the system of allotments. The directors of educational affairs agreed with the student representatives. The new decree unifies the stipend system of those participating in skilled worker training, independently of the kind of educational institution at which they are enrolled. The goal is to have the stipends give incentive to improved study results and work. Hereafter the sum of the stipend will be established semiannually at both types of schools individually on the basis of the student's achievement, work performance and industry. The decision will be made by those who best know the young individual--the department head, the vocational teacher, the student interest-representational organs and the representative of the enterprise that pays the stipend. The statutory provision which appeared recently prescribes only the sums that are differentiated according to trade category and class standing. The mode of distribution will be worked out at the school with the participation of the local KISZ and the trade union organs.

Since the new stipend system wishes to reward learning, good work and exemplary industry, the average 50 percent increase will not apply, chiefly for this reason, to all students. Some students will receive stipends that are higher than average and others will receive less, while those who are showing unsatisfactory results cannot receive this allotment in the following 6 months.

As in the case of secondary vocational school students who are pursuing skilled worker training, students in skilled worker training at technical secondary vocational schools will also receive similar stipends in the future. But they will be eligible for stipends only after 2 years of basic training, because it is at this point that they enter on practical learning and producer work.

The directors of education hope that the introduction of the modified system--if used by the schools in a democratic and circumspect way--will increase the incentive effect of the stipends. And they expect the youth organizations functioning in the schools to represent--aware of their responsibility--the interests of youth who lead in learning, who perform industriously and who give witness to honorable, human attitudes.

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HUNGARY

HAMORI VIEWS KEY ROLE, ATTITUDE PROBLEMS OF YOUTH

Budapest IFJUKOMMUNISTA in Hungarian No 1, Jan 85 pp 2-3

[Interview with Csaba Hamori, First Secretary of the KISZ Central Committee and newly elected member of the MSZMP Politburo, by Endre Erdos: "In the Margins of a Communique"]

[Text] At the end of last year an official communique appeared in the national press which announced that a personnel change had taken place at the head of the central committee of our federation. A few days after the 7 December meeting of the KISZ Central Committee which made decisions in the personnel question a representative of IFJUKOMMUNISTA was received by Csaba Hamori, our new first secretary.

[Question] Precisely five volumes of our journal have appeared since you figured in our December 1979 issue, when as first secretary of the Budapest KISZ committee you participated in an interview intended for publication concerning politically active youth. At that time we examined this theme, still important today, on the basis of the experiences of the KISZ movement in the capital. Now, as the new first secretary of the KISZ Central Committee elected in December 1984, you are again available to our readers for a brief interview. Let us begin with that. What has happened with you in the past 5 years?

[Answer] Several months after that interview, in February 1980, I was elected first secretary of the city district party committee at a party conference of the Kispest communists. So in recent years I have been doing my job as a party worker. This period gave me a different perspective on KISZ life, on the joys and problems of youth. Naturally these are things which cannot escape the ken of a party worker either. Still, I think that I will be able to meet the great responsibility now conferred upon me if, as it were, I relearned youth movement work.

[Question] It may be that the tasks of the recent past really did carry you a bit away from direct, daily KISZ work, but it appears from the brief biography published after your election that even prior to the 3 years on the Budapest KISZ committee you held many KISZ offices. What were these?

[Answer] I was elected a primary organization secretary in my second year at the Attila Jozsef Gymnazium in Budapest. Naturally the fact that the selection fell on me was not due to my initiative, nor was it at any time later. To put it simply, that is how things worked out. I did certain work in the school KISZ committee too, and then while performing my military service I received propagandist tasks for the first time.

The sequence continued at the Budapest Technical University. I was studying to be a mechanical engineer and in the meantime I continued KISZ work too. In the first year I was again a primary organization secretary, in the second year I was class deputy secretary, and later deputy secretary for the mechanical engineering school. After graduation I became agitprop secretary of the university KISZ committee, and in 1975 I was elected secretary of the KISZ committee of the Budapest Technical University. A year later I went into the apparatus of the KISZ Central Committee as chief of the organizations department. And the last station of my previous KISZ "career" was the Budapest committee, where I began work in 1977.

[Question] Well, the line is rather long for me to be asking now at the beginning of the "relearning": What are you most concerned about, among youth questions, having not worked in the youth movement for years?

[Answer] The party secretary view still determines my answer to this question. Looking through this prism I saw, and see, that the problems of youth are of increasing significance for politics. I myself have felt that in recent years the situation of the youth, while it improved in many respects, has deteriorated in a number of respects also; taken as a whole it has changed very significantly.

I am concerned especially by two things. One is that the youth are not sufficiently acquainted with the history of our people and nation, and the course thus far of socialist Hungary. So they cannot realistically evaluate our contemporary reality. My other concern is that we do not give a significant part of the youth, especially the thinking youth, the experience needed to believe what is most important. That this society is ours in common, that as a whole it will be--or can be!--what we ourselves make it--all Hungarian citizens, the young and those no longer young. And if our young people do not appropriately feel that they have a part in the common work for all this, and if they do not really feel that our joys and problems are theirs, then we are faced with a problem the elimination of which is a first priority mission--in the spirit of the youth policy of the party.

[Question] We thank you for the introductory interview. A tradition is being continued by the fact that the first secretary of the KISZ Central Committee has made the first press appearance after his election in the paper for KISZ leaders. One can sense from this the intent that in order to achieve your future plans and goals you also desire to build in a far-reaching way on our readers, on the activists of the youth movement, on that nucleus of our federation which exists throughout the country and takes on its shoulders the burden of KISZ work.

HUNGARY

INDUSTRIAL ENGINEERING DISCUSSED

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 15 Jan 85 p 4

[Article by Sarolta Osvath: "Industrial Engineering Gathering New Momentum"]

[Text] Perhaps the textile industry will not come to everyone's mind when industrial engineering is mentioned. Yet the women walking among the machines, and reaching automatically into the threads or yarns running with devilish speed on the clattering machines, probably know the most about industrial engineering. Without the strictly prescribed and practiced movements, a spinner or weaver would be unable to service six, 10, 12 or even 16 machines.

Successful Projects Speak for Themselves

However, modern industrial engineering is not limited to textile mills. The textile industry is indisputably the first area in which modern industrial engineering has spread, in the early 1970's. And with reason. That was the time when the textile industry first encountered labor shortages. And productivity had to be raised to ensure the utilization of the high-capacity machines installed in the course of the textile industry's modernization.

It is never easy to fight for something new. It cannot be said even of the new methods of industrial engineering that they were welcomed everywhere as the best possible solutions. To the contrary, in some instances everything possible was done to ensure the failure of the new methods. If one wonders why, the answer is fairly obvious. Just imagine a mill that has been operating in the same old way for decades. Suddenly one or two people come from the outside (or from above) and begin to argue. They interfere in everything and want to prove at all cost that everything the mill has been doing for the past 10 or 20 years is all wrong. Imagine the foreman who for years has been assigning work in accordance with the principles he regards as best. Suddenly some upstart industrial engineer appears and claims that the foreman is assigning work the wrong way, and from now on will have to do it differently.

Fortunately, industrial engineers have to overcome less resistance now than initially. For the results of the industrial engineering efforts during the past 10 to 15 years speak for themselves. Productivity in the textile and clothing industry has increased by at least 15 percent, in most cases by 30 to 40 percent, and in some instances by as much as 60 to 70 percent.

Many of the enterprises combined the introduction of the methods that they adopted and learned mostly from foreign industrial engineering institutes, with the modernization of their production management systems. Mainly at these enterprises, but even at the ones that undertook the "organization" of only one or two production units or plants, it soon became evident that this is the cheapest investment, because its costs are recovered faster than those of any other investment, in 8 to 12 months on average.

Most of the industrial engineering methods employed in the clothing industry are of foreign origin. But the clothing industry's management recognized already then that it was not absolutely necessary to rely entirely on import for the wide-scale introduction of the new industrial engineering methods. From the very outset the contracts were concluded so as to permit adaptation. Within a few years there developed--mainly among the enterprises that were the first ones to employ modern industrial engineering--the teams and industrial engineering groups willing to undertake adaptation. Today the Kobanya Textile Mills (Kobanyai Textilmuvek), the Budaflax Flax-Spinning and Weaving Enterprise (Budaflax Lenfono- es Szovogyar Vallalat), the Vac Knitwear Factory (Vaci Kotottarugyar), the Pava Clothing Factory (Pava Ruhagyar), Rabatex [Raba Textile Mills] and VOR [expansion unknown] hallmark these efforts.

Within light industry, industrial engineering projects involving the introduction of foreign methods were completed at 61 enterprises by the end of 1983. As a result, the productivity of direct labor rose by 20 to 60 percent, the utilization of raw and processed materials improved by 2 to 3 percent, and capacity utilization of plant and equipment was higher by 5 to 15 percent.

#### Wage Constraint and Economic Pressure

Between 1970 and 1983, employment in light industry dropped by 20 percent (or nearly 100,000 workers), while the production volume at comparable prices increased by 50 percent. The clothing industry accounts for more than 60 percent of light industry's output.

It is indisputable that industrial engineering accounts for most of the increase in this subsector's productivity. On the other hand, one wonders why in the other subsectors of light industry--in the furniture, leather, printing, and paper industries that underwent extensive modernization at the same time--no one has thought of utilizing the advantages that industrial engineering offers. At the beginning of the 1980's, one could find such efforts only occasionally in these subsectors. Some stirring is already evident now, but sometimes the initiatives never reach the stage of realization.

The failures today can be attributed less to the intentions' lack of earnestness. More often it is regulation that creates an obstacle. In particular, industrial engineering offers a relatively low-cost and quick solution for the enterprises that urgently need to raise performances, reduce their production costs and improve efficiency. But the workers are entitled, or would be entitled, to additional pay for additional performance. And since not every enterprise is able to bear the tax burden on additional pay, everything remains the same as before.



In spite of this, modern industrial engineering appears to be again on the agenda. The question arises as to whether the continuing paucity of investment resources is compelling the enterprises to improve their efficiency in this way, or have conditions become ripe for reprogramming some plant or production phase. A contributing factor in all likelihood is that the stricter economic conditions are compelling the enterprises to uncover every possible reserve. So why should they pass up one of their most obvious reserves?

#### Nothing Special, Merely Common Sense

The Paper Industry Enterprise (Papiripari Vallalat), for example, considered conditions ripe for streamlining its maintenance, because it established that the idle time of its paper machines was the greatest single source of its losses. Therefore it was decided to reduce the idle time of the paper machines to a minimum, by organizing their maintenance more efficiently. The project begun 18 months ago is nearing completion. It is essentially quite simple. At the time of each major maintenance, any part that is not expected to last until the next major maintenance is replaced. In this way stoppages due to the wear of such parts are less frequent, and now a machine is able to make paper also during the time that in the past it was laid up for repairs. The savings in terms of material costs also are substantial, because material is always lost when a machine is shut down or started up. At the same time, the maintenance workers service and repair the paper machines according to a fixed schedule that is broken down into days and hours, instead of intervening only when a breakdown has already occurred. As a work method, the prevention of breakdowns will definitely produce the expected results. The first estimates are promising. Foreign industrial engineers are working on the project at the Csepel and Dunaujvaros paper factories; with a certain phase delay, the Paper Industry Enterprise's own industrial engineers are adapting the method at the other factories, and also in Nyiregyhaza, Labatlan, Pesterzsébet and Budafok.

There is likewise nothing special about the method that the Pava Clothing Factory's industrial engineers introduced at the Sarvar and Szekszard plants of the Palota Fancy Leather Goods Factory. Or perhaps only that the expedient techniques, based on time and motion studies, are being transplanted from the textile to the leatherworking industry. For the work that has to be streamlined is practically identical: both industries have to cut and sew, the only difference being the basic material with which the two industries have to work --textiles in one, and natural or man-made leather in the other. A 20-percent rise in labor productivity has been achieved in Sarvar on handbags, while the Szekszard plant expects to be able to produce an overnight bag in 25 minutes. This is only 1 minute more than it takes to produce such a bag, on the same machinery, in the Federal Republic of Germany.

The printing industry also has decided to take the first steps towards streamlining its operations. University Press (Egyetemi Nyomda) has completed a study to uncover the shortcomings in the organization of production. The introduction of modern work methods is expected primarily to improve capacity utilization and to save materials.

In the furniture industry, the first experiment with the application of modern industrial engineering was completed last year, at the Tisza Furniture Industry



Enterprise (Tisza Butoripari Vallalat). The method was developed by the Furniture Industry R&D Institute (Butoripari Fejlesztési Intézet), although it took much longer than had been planned. The essence of the method is the use of minicomputers for managing and scheduling production.

It is widely claimed that modern industrial engineering cannot be imagined today without the use of computer technology. This is certainly true, but only where all the necessary conditions are ensured. But there still are reserves also for the application of common sense, as evident from the example of the finishing shop at the Budapest Fine Knitwear Factory (Budapesti Finomkötöttáru-gyar). Enormous losses were caused here by the fact that production had to be scheduled in accordance with the composition of the central orders. Now that the shop is operating independently and scheduling its production on the basis of the optimal use of dyes and chemicals, without jeopardizing the time limits for the delivery of the orders, the third shift has become practically unnecessary, whereas earlier it was believed that the finishing shop's capacity was creating bottlenecks.

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POLAND

# LAWYERS DISCUSS PROS, CONS OF SEJM ELECTION

Warsaw PRAWO I ZYCIE in Polish No 9, 2 Mar 85 pp 3,4,5

[Article: "In the Eyes of Lawyers"]

[Text] We present here fragments of the continuing discussion about the assumptions of the election ordinance draft. Doc Stanislaw Gebethner, Doc Zdzislaw Jarosz, and Prof Wojciech Sokolewicz took part in a discussion led by Editor Eugeniusz Piontek.

[ E. Piontek ] If the principle of public consultations has been raised in our political system to the rank of a legal institution, then it has a special role to play in the election mechanism. In this regard, what can be perceived from a reading of the assumptions of the Sejm election ordinance?

[S. Gebethner] Indeed, public consultations by candidates play a key role in the process of citizen participation in elections, which by no means can be reduced in a socialist system to merely the act of voting. Nonetheless, the assumptions do not address this matter. In any case, the assumptions say nothing about the course and forms of candidate consultations. I believe that the basic concept of the consultations that were included in the people's council election process should also apply to the Sejm election campaign. Here the sizes of the districts are larger, and the nature of these elections is more political than the people's council elections. Thus, that model cannot be applied directly to the parliamentary elections. However, I visualize a two-level mechanism of consultations and nomination of candidates: internal at the primary level and, if need be, public at the district election level. A similar solution is in operation in the USSR election system.

[Z. Jarosz] The size of the districts, such as provinces or parts of bigger provinces, which after all are the election districts for the Sejm, in fact hinder this form of citizen participation, which would be based on the formal approval of candidates by the voters. But the previous speaker points to one of the possible ways to go. I believe that in the coming elections the mechanism of intraorganizational consultations within individual parties and organizations must be resolutely expanded in the areas where the candidates, who are nominated as their representatives on the voting lists, live. Let us remember that in the 1960's formalized and representative party conferences operated in this area. The possibility of organizing in such a manner was proposed much earlier--and at a high level at that because W. Gomulka, among

others, formulated it in one of his 1957 speeches--so that the candidates nominated as deputies or council members could be acceptable to wide and representative preelection assemblies in the individual districts that were organized under the sponsorship of the former FJN [National Unity Front]. I believe that it is one of the ideas that should be considered.

[W. Sokolewicz] I agree that the Sejm elections are more political and party-oriented to a greater degree than the people's council elections. The consequence of this is very simple, namely, that the initial consultations of candidates executed within the party or other organizations are very important here. It can be said truthfully that the intraparty instruction for nominating candidates for the people's council elections was very democratic. It was an excellent reflection of the principle of intraparty democracy. It even brought about many complaints by regional activists that the instruction was causing them many difficulties with regard to the need to nominate a greater number of candidates and the like.

Therefore, we expect the appropriate instruction for the Sejm elections will be no less democratic even though, naturally, it will be adapted to the specifics of those elections. But it also must be said here that we err by groping in the dark because the creators of the assumptions of the election ordinance draft employed a few dodges. Namely, in the assumptions we read that guidelines should be issued to the national election convention concerning the procedure for nominating candidates for the Sejm at the national elections convention. This means that, in addition to intraparty and intraorganizational matters, other matters associated with nominating candidates for the Sejm must be regulated in detail in the guidelines for the national elections conventions. At least that is the way I interpret it.

[Z. Jarosz] Yes. But that which was stated in the assumptions concerning consultations by nominated candidates reduces the entire problem to the so-called introduction, which is not a more extensive form of citizen participation and acceptance.

[W. Sokolewicz] In essence, from the terminology used in the assumptions, it turns out that the concern here is really about the popularization of previously announced candidates rather than about comparing the soundness of nominating those and not other persons with the opinion of the interested public.

[S. Gebethner] It is true that we could and should expect a democratic process for nominating candidates in the framework of political parties and other organizations. But what about nominating candidates from nonparty communities? Naturally, each of the potential candidates represents in the end some kind of professional, trade or other organization because among socially active people totally independent or non-affiliated people do not exist. The problem also was not considered in a substantial way in the assumptions. But because of the extreme gravity of the problem, to me it would be improper to return to the executive regulations. Thus, it is a gap that needs to be filled.

[Z. Jarosz] We should also remember that in practice not all the mass organizations in the respective districts are represented on the list of

candidates. Thus, they should participate in the consultations process, at least in the form of accepting candidates representing other, fraternal organizations. Thus, the participation of representatives of all the political and social organizations in a given district in evaluating and accepting proposed candidates must be acknowledged as a significant indication of society's participation in the election process. Once again, the provisions of articles 84 and 100 of the Polish People's Republic Constitution come to mind here.

[W. Sokolewicz] To be fair to the authors of the assumptions, one should record the readable differentiation by them of the nominating stage and the voting stage for candidates. Under the regulations of the people's council elections ordinance much confusion has arisen in practice in this area. People often did not know what stage of this process they were in. The assumptions make a great distinction between nominating candidates and voting for them. This creates a real opportunity to improve the forms of public participation in the first-mentioned phases of the election process. All that is needed is to designate the legal organizational scheme in which this participation could manifest itself.

[E. Piontek] There comes a moment when we come to the culmination of the election process, that is, the voting itself. What do the assumptions have to say in this regard?

[S. Gebethner] Once again they propose the well-known mechanism of voting via cross-outs. This makes it appear that we are unable to envision a different formula. The custom of conducting elections by expressing a vote of no confidence is all-embracing. We proceed in this manner in all organizations, even when it comes to selecting a proposals commission or others in the proverbial association of mutual back-scratchers. Thus, in this way, we support a very bad custom in society's political culture. I believe it is high time to progress to a model of positive elections by indicating appropriate candidates as is done, for example, in Hungary or Cuba.

[W. Sokolewicz] The people's council elections were a wasted opportunity. Without greater political risk, we could have applied the formula of positive voting because, as we have agreed, elections to social self-governing bodies are not as politically important as the Sejm elections.

But I am not yet convinced of the propriety of the evaluation on which the foundations of the assumptions of the election ordinance were based, that is, that the citizens are not accustomed to active voting, and if such a voting system were introduced a large number of voting ballots would be cast that would not indicate whom the voter was voting for, and thus those ballots would be invalid.

To me that evaluation is wrong because, in spite of prevailing opinion, a Sejm candidate, by the nature of things, is as well known to a voter as a candidate to a gmina or provincial council. Even if he is not known personally, he should be known at least from the proverbial front pages of newspapers or from the TV screen. After all, Sejm candidates should be social activists who are



popular in their communities and even on a wider scale. Their names are linked with certain political implications, with the convictions of voters of this or that candidate's orientation, and the voters are able to differentiate between X and Y.

Therefore, I believe there are no basic contraindications, not even in the Sejm elections and not even if we did not initiate such an experiment during the people's council elections, to try to proceed to a system of positive voting, especially since it could be a kind of substantial innovation for Poland.

[Z. Jarosz] Positive voting requires the mobilization of voters.

[W. Sokolewicz] I was aiming toward that. A voting system based on expressing a vote of no confidence reduces in essence to layers of opportunism in the consciousness and attitudes of the voters. Behind this lies the expectation that the voter will cast his ballot without strike-outs, and thus passively.

[Z. Jarosz] The secret ballot is neither a right nor an obligation; it is a voting principle. This principle should guarantee another good, that is, the freedom of voters to express their will for all to an equal degree, regardless of whether they want to vote in secret. It is a principle so rooted in modern political culture that it is simply astonishing that it is questioned in Poland. Let us recall that in other areas of life, in the activities of various organizations and collegial bodies, the secret ballot is used universally if even one person in the given assembly demands it. Thus, the discussion is a sham as long as secrecy is one of the constitutional election principles, and as such it must be observed without reservation.

[S. Gebethner] Let us add that examining secrecy in legal categories is a code word for voting publicly, and publicity is a code for token voting without strike-outs. And this should not be our concern here.

[E. Piontek] Strengthening law and order and observing it consistently in the practice of public life was made a top priority in the programs of the political parties operating in Poland and by PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth]. No doubt, an important point here is that the control mechanisms must be properly shaped, including, most certainly, those in the election processes. Therefore, can we now focus our attention on this aspect of the assumptions of the Sejm election ordinance?

[Z. Jarosz] It is a multilayer problem, and it should be examined at least in two areas: the control of current election activities and the control of subsequent election activities. I will start with the first. In this regard, the assumptions propose commissions that are tasked to organize and control the correctness of the election process and are supposed to be formed "on the proposal" of the PRON signatories. On the other hand, the conventions are supposed, in accordance with one of the theses of the assumptions, to delegate to the election commission at all levels of its leadership the task of controlling the correctness of the commission's activities. This appears to be more like a system of internal control than social control. But let us recall that the problem of the assumed public credibility of the elections commission



as a representation of a civic agent in the election procedures was one of the most frequently raised problems during the election campaign for the people's councils.

[S. Gebethner] I agree with those comments.

[W. Sokolewicz] I would hope that there is enough time to regulate this matter properly.

[E. Piontek] The mechanisms for social control of election processes, however, do not exhaust the entire problem. There is still the problem of judicial control to consider. After all, it was used in the 1984 public consultations election ordinance.

[S. Gebethner] In essence this is a great achievement of the ordinance and is an important innovation that won the universal approval of the public. For political reasons, the accepted solution is irreversible. But the question arises: Can it in general be applied to the Sejm election ordinance? Here, of course, we must deal with the constitutionality of the greatest organ of state government. And on the basis of its sovereign status, no one has the right to control the Sejm. Thus, it should be remembered that a similar problem arose in the discussion on the scope and nature of the rights of the projected Constitutional Tribunal. The overwhelming opinion at that time was that controlling the correctness of the Sejm's actions also belongs to it alone, especially any time it concerns making crucial decisions.

[E. Piontek] I believe that applying this reasoning to controlling the correctness of Sejm elections has a weak side. We can talk about the described status and competence of the Sejm only after the correctness of its election has been verified. An improperly elected Sejm would not be the Sejm described in the Constitution. Thus, I would allow the possibility of controlling the correctness of parliamentary elections by an external agent, such as the Supreme Court or the Constitutional Tribunal.

[Z. Jarosz] I would formulate it somewhat differently. One must start with the presumption of the correctness of the Sejm elections process. Election protests could possibly refute this presumption in individual cases, the recognition of which does not impair the correctness of the membership of a newly elected Sejm as a whole. That is why it is necessary to declare the correctness of accomplished elections. But from a practical point of view, I believe that here we also need a decision by the Sejm in these matters based on the reports of the State Elections Commission, as well as a court investigation of the legal controversies in this area resulting from protests.

[E. Piontek] I propose that attention be focused on individual protests. What do the rest of you think about the treatment of this question in the assumptions?

[Z. Jarosz] There are two variants here. The first one establishes the possibility of each voter voicing a protest, and the other variant assumes protests only by a voter in the district to which the protest applies. I believe that we must support decisively the first variant. Law and order is

one and the same throughout the entire country. Thus, the deputies, regardless of their district, decide matters concerning all citizens. Therefore, all of them are interested in the correctness of their election.

However, thesis 55 of the assumptions substantially limits what can be protested. Violations of voting regulations or ascertaining election results can be protested, and only certain kinds of election activities and the provisions of the election ordinance that are associated with these activities can be protested. In association with this, the question arises: Does the form for maintaining law and order that is projected in the law apply only to some regulations of this law? This would be equivalent to the assumption that other provisions of the law can be violated with immunity. From the viewpoint of law and order this is probably a misunderstanding. This would be justified if, as in many other election systems, there was the possibility of appealing to the courts specific decisions made during the entire election process. However, the assumptions do not provide for such a possibility. Let us add that the assumptions also do not contain a requirement that candidates for the Sejm possess proper moral and political attitudes (thesis 1), which is different from the public consultations election ordinance. Should requirements of candidates for the highest organ of government be less than those for candidates for a gmina people's council?

[S. Gebethner] Personally, I have always stated that an evaluation of the moral qualifications of candidates should not be part of the judgment. The voters themselves should decide this matter and thus, in this regard, they should not be relieved of this task. Thus, I believe that the solution included in the people's councils election ordinance is unfortunate, especially since it now reflects unfavorably on the possible solutions for the new Sejm ordinance. A candidate may not have the cleanest moral bill of health but still have the confidence of the voters, and he may possess those qualities that make him quite suitable to occupy a seat in representative bodies to the advantage of all.

[E. Piontek] This reminds me of Bertrand Russell's observation that memorials are erected for politicians not because of their integrity but because of their usefulness. This does not sound very nice, but there is something to this. But, in returning to the posed question, it should be remembered that at least in some areas we already have judicial control in Poland of election activities that are obligatory, and other proposals continue to be advanced in this area.

[S. Gebethner] Therein lies the entire problem. Everything was in order as long as it applied to council elections. However, if the mechanisms of court verification of the correctness of voting and election results were to be extended to the Sejm elections, then the situation from the legal viewpoint would change quite radically. Article 21 of the Constitution states that "the validity of the election of a deputy is confirmed by the Sejm." It is true that certain interpretational possibilities exist here, but we would have to revise at least in part the existing legal-constitutional doctrine. I am not saying that we must be uncompromising in this matter, but this does not eliminate the problem. We would encounter many interpretational difficulties if a large number of protests were made that were upheld by court decisions.

Without revising article 21 of the Constitution, I believe that the problem would be insoluble.

[W. Sokolewicz] I do not completely share Docent Gebethner's fears unless it would in essence come to the point wherein the courts question en masse the correctness of the conducted elections. The experiences gained from the people's councils elections, in which, naturally, we could have expected large-scale protests and the recognition of these protests by the courts, have not confirmed the reality of such a danger. For the Sejm elections, the danger is even less. Individual confirmations by the courts of the invalidity of an election do not threaten the very concept of the Sejm's constitutional sovereignty. Let us remember that the question of validity of elections arose only with regard to election protests and their associated court decisions. After all, it is traditional material for adjudication by the State Elections Commission. The Sejm examines the comments and recommendations made by the commission and assumes a position on them. There is nothing to prevent court decisions from being sent to the Sejm via the commission. However, I agree that a certain amount of quibbling would occur.

[E. Piontek] Or quietly vesting the Sejm with court competence, just like that possessed by Britain's House of Lords.

[S. Gebethner] If these decisions are not discussed or limited, or if the quality of court ascertainties are not addressed by the Sejm, then we will not be able to resolve this matter satisfactorily in the end. We know from our experiences with the people's council elections that at times 6 months may elapse before an election is ascertained by the court. Let us assume that in a newly elected Sejm the validity of 445 deputies is confirmed, but the status of 15 deputies is being examined. What rights do these 15 have? During this period, what constitutes a Sejm majority, and so on?

[W. Sokolewicz] That is why I was never enthusiastic about empowering court organs to examine or even issue recommendations concerning the validity of selecting candidates for the Sejm, and I do not recommend it. I also admit that complying with this procedure has been widely accepted by the public, and to reverse it would be very costly politically. However, from the legal viewpoint the possibility of an optimistic reply is nil.

[Z. Jarosz] There can be only one conclusion from this exchange of views, namely, that it is a complicated political-legal problem, and it is unfortunate that this and many similar problems were presented for public discussion without having been thoroughly examined with regard to their theory and legal aspects.

[S. Gebethner] The practice of gathering expert opinions by constitutional law experts, without discussing these opinions with them, is also a mistake. Especially a group discussion to obtain the opinions of scholars on a given theme. This is especially so if certain portions are extracted from submitted works and suggestions that do not reflect in essence the cohesive whole. I believe that scientific and doctrinal discussions should take place in the

presence of decisionmakers before a position is taken on individual questions, and only then can they be placed before the public for a sensible evaluation.

[E. Piontek] I believe that we have said very much in our discussion. Let us hope that it will lend itself to the passage of a good or at least a consistent and legal Sejm election ordinance. Gentlemen. I thank you for the discussion.

11899

CSO: 2600/688

POLAND

## EPISCOPATE CONFERENCE HELD

### Torun Trial Criticized

Katowice GOSC NIEDZIELNY in Polish No 9, 3 Mar 85 p 1

[Communique from the 204th Plenary Conference of the Polish Episcopate, issued in Warsaw on 14 February 1985]

[Text] 1. The Plenary Conference of the Polish Episcopate held its sessions in Warsaw on 13-14 February 1985 under the chairmanship of Reverend Cardinal Jozef Glemp, primate of Poland. The conference raised a number of timely questions concerning the life of the church in the world and in Poland. John Paul II's latest apostolic journey, his 25th, to four Latin American countries was a subject of the deliberations. The bishops expressed deep gratitude to the Holy Father for his exhortation "On Reconciliation and Penance" and his announcement of the convocation of the Extraordinary Synod of Bishops on account of the 20th anniversary of the conclusion of the Second Vatican Council. Preparations for the Nationwide Eucharistic Congress in 1987 were also a subject of the deliberations. Conference participants reflected on the further implementation of the new Code of Canonical Law. Moreover, the chairmen of various episcopate committees in turn presented particular pastoral problems.

2. The after-effects of the kidnapping and murder of the late Father Jerzy Popieluszko were acknowledged as a matter of exceptional importance. The crime committed against this Polish priest shocked our entire community and simultaneously was echoed sharply in the world at large. The same thing happened with the trial of the four people guilty of this crime.

3. Before proceeding to the particulars of this painful matter, let us remember the principles which are always binding but which now have acquired special significance.

--First: The church has the right and the duty to preach the gospel to all people. It is the gospel of truth, love, justice, and peace, the gospel of forgiveness and the struggle with evil--through good.



--Second: Throughout the centuries the history of our motherland has been marked by the relationship of the church with the people. This has always been and has remained a service relationship: "The church in the service of the people," preached the primate of the millennium. To undermine the authority of the church, therefore, is not only unjust but also strikes at the good of the people.

--Third: Everyone in the motherland has the right to reliable information. Providing tendentious, selective information and hurling half-truths and pretenses of truth leads to mental chaos and hinders national accord.

4. Taking these principles into account, we set forth the following:

Finding the perpetrators of the crime, who were functionaries of the Security Service, and bringing them to justice in a public trial fulfilled the expectations of the community and the social feeling of justice. The revelation during the trial of some mechanisms of action and the atmosphere prevailing in the section of the Security Service apparatus dealing with church rights was also a positive phenomenon, though one that was depressing in its meaning. It turned out that, morally, the methods employed were worthy of condemnation and at odds with binding law. Willful and illegal violation of one's honor, dignity, and good name strike at basic human rights. And as the Torun trial showed, they can lead to a crime. Upsurping the right to make a unilateral evaluation of the behavior and views of other citizens, claiming a monopoly on legal interpretation, and passing mob law "sentences" constitute flagrant abuse of the law and violate the elementary principles of the rule of law. We expect that the proper authorities will draw conclusions from these facts and will take appropriate steps to assure the due protection of civil rights guaranteed by the constitution.

Hope for the cleansing of the social atmosphere and the restoration of mutual confidence was linked with the trial in Torun. Unfortunately, the course of the trial aroused many misgivings. During the trial attempts were made to discredit the church, its bishops, and its priests. These attacks were not limited solely to the irresponsible claims of the defendants, for the prosecutor also made attempts to equate the victim of the crime with his murderers. This was accompanied by the biased reporting of the course of the trial by the mass media. And if we add to this other publications, unfavorable to the church, that have been appearing recently in a quantity not seen for years, one cannot help feeling that a deliberate propaganda campaign has been undertaken which, on the pretext of branding the so-called "extrareligious activities of the clergy," is aiming to disturb relations between state and church.

Activities of this type do not serve the cause of dialogue and social reconciliation, which the church has always strongly urged, and do not strengthen social peace in our motherland. We anticipate a halt to this campaign for the good of the nation. These issues were broached more broadly in the memorial addressed by the episcopate from the present plenary conference to the state authorities.

Moreover, in light of the recent events, we consider it our duty to remind people that although--as the council teaches--"In no case does the church wish to interfere in the rule of the secular state,"<sup>1</sup> nevertheless "it should have real freedom always and everywhere in preaching the faith, in teaching its social instruction, in performing its tasks unhindered among the people, and also in making a moral evaluation, even in questions concerning political matters, if the basic rights of a person or the salvation of souls require this."<sup>2</sup> Consequently, moral evaluation not only of the behavior of individuals but also of all institutions enters into the scope of the church's mission and has a religious character. Thus the church, in fulfilling its mission of love, is always obligated to combat evil. It has a particular obligation to do so when evil appears in public life.

5. On the eve of the plenary conference, on 12 February 1985, the Holy Father delivered an oration to a group of Polish pilgrims in Rome which was read at the beginning of the deliberations by the reverend primate. Here are the main thoughts and words of the Holy Father:

"I hope that the events which have taken place in Poland and which have been experienced very deeply outside of Poland as well, both in Rome and throughout the world, will serve to strengthen the nation and the church within the nation. We need great spiritual power. The test which our nation has been enduring, for virtually 2 centuries already, requires great spiritual strength. It is not easy to be a Pole. What I told the youth of Jasna Gora I consider to be the truth for us all: it is worth being a Pole. And thus we have to tell ourselves: since it is not easy, it is all the more worthwhile.

"The experiences of the recent months are aiding us in this. If on the one hand they have their depressing aspect, on the other hand they have their deep spirit-raising aspect. We need everything that is spirit-lifting from these events and this death of the priest, which is to some extent a symbol; we need what is spirit-lifting to raise us up and always to raise us up, for the common good, for surely this death has its common-character dimension: it is for the good of the whole motherland, for the good of the church, even outside of Poland. I also desire very sincerely to wish everyone God's blessing and to convey this blessing for our entire motherland, which I have said again and again is a mother especially loved by us, since she has had a difficult history. And therefore we cherish and want to cherish her all the more, and we hope that the church and its pastors, bishops, and priests will be in the future what they are now, teachers of love of the motherland."

6. We accept these words of the Holy Father with the deepest reverence. And at the same time we appeal to all faithful Poles to say a fervent prayer for every person in Poland, for all institutions, for the entire nation to be entrusted to the most holy mother of God. We appeal for this prayer at the beginning of this year's Lent.

[Signed] the cardinals, archbishops, and bishops present at the plenary conference

FOOTNOTES

1. Decree on the Missionary Activity of the Church, No 12.
2. Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World, No 70.

Press Source Clarified

Katowice GOSC NIEDZIELNY in Polish No 9, 3 Mar 85 p 1

[Declaration of the Press Office of the Polish Episcopate, issued in Warsaw on 19 February 1985]

[Text] During the Torun trial, a libelous charge of collaboration with the Gestapo was hurled at one of the bishops. In connection with this, the secretary of the Polish episcopate has asked the competent state authorities to make available the appropriate materials on this matter. The state authorities declared in response that the functionaries of the fourth department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs had made use only of information in the Italian weekly SETTE GIORNI (No 20, 12 November 1983).

Meanwhile, in the opinion of respectable Italian journalists, the weekly SETTE GIORNI, published in a provincial town in Sicily and typically containing propagandistic material, is not available through normal sale but is distributed to embassies in the socialist and Third World countries.

The incredulity of the collaboration charge also is attested to by the fact that despite the peculiar sensational character given to this matter in selective reports from the Torun trial, hundreds of thousands of protest signatures directed against the state authorities have been amassed by now from the Przemyśl Diocese area. Consequently, rudimentary feeling of justice demands retraction of the libel.

8729  
CSO: 2600/671

ROMANIA

APPOINTMENT, REMOVAL OF MINISTRY OFFICIALS

Bucharest BULETINUL OFFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 7, 15 Feb 85 p 4

[Presidential Decree on Removals From and Appointments to Positions]

[Text] The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Article 1--Comrade Richard Winter is relieved of his position as minister of technical-material supply and control of the management of fixed assets and will receive other tasks.

Article 2--Comrade Petre Preoteasa is relieved of his position as minister of the machine-building industry and appointed minister of technical-material supply and control of the management of fixed assets.

Article 3--Comrade Alexandru Necula is relieved of his position as minister of the machine-tool, electrical engineering and electronics industry and appointed minister of the machine-building industry.

Article 4--Comrade Mihai Moraru is relieved of his position as minister state secretary in the office of the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania and appointed minister state secretary in the Ministry of the Machine-Building Industry.

Article 5--Comrade Ion Kicu is appointed minister state secretary in the Ministry of the Machine-Building Industry.

Article 6--The following comrades are appointed deputy ministers of the machine-building industry: Constantin Dumitru, Serban Teodorescu, Octavi Alexandru Stanescu, Nicolae Vaidescu, Gheorghe Boldur.

Article 7--Comrade Vasile Baltac is appointed state secretary in the Ministry of the Machine-Building Industry.

Article 8--The following comrades are relieved of their position as deputy ministers of the machine-building industry: Constantin Ionescu, Vasile Iorgulescu, Stelian Postelnicu.

Article 9--Comrade Virgiliu Stere is relieved of his position as deputy minister of the machine-tool, electrical engineering and electronics industry.

NICOLAE CEAUSESCU

Bucharest, 12 February 1985  
No 19

President of the Socialist Republic  
of Romania

CSO: 2700/130



YUGOSLAVIA

THREE REPUBLICS INITIATE CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Mar 85 p 3

[Excerpts] A year ago at a joint meeting of all three chambers in the Assembly of Bosnia-Hercegovina, after a 17-month public discussion, amendments to the Constitution of this republic were adopted, as well as a constitutional law to implement these amendments. These were the first constitutional changes carried out in a republic since 1974.

Recently at a meeting of the Sociopolitical Chamber in the Assembly of Montenegro changes in parts of this republic's constitution were initiated. At the end of February at a meeting of all three chambers of the Croatian Assembly a proposal by the constitutional commission of the Assembly was adopted to initiate changes in this republic's constitution.

Thus, initiatives to change the constitutions of three of the six republics have been made up to now. Similar changes will likely follow also in other federal units.

In explaining the changes to chamber delegates in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Assembly president Ivica Blazevic stressed that this in no way brings into question the basic constitutional principles which designate the direction of development of the socialist self-management society. Only those changes are being made which will contribute to greater efficiency and better organizational capability of the political system.

This explanation would also apply to...Croatia and Montenegro. In all three republics it is a question of making more precise the area of operation of the assembly chambers inasmuch as there is a clear tendency to strengthen the Chamber of Associated Labor. Extension of the term of office of leading republic functionaries is also a change which all three republics have introduced and toward which the political structures in the other federal units [republics] are inclined, judging from many public statements.

In adopting amendments to the republic constitution, the delegates of all three Assembly chambers of Bosnia Hercegovina at a meeting on 27 March last year legalized the dominant position of the Chamber of Associated Labor, limited the sphere of action of the Sociopolitical Chamber to matters relating to developing and protecting the socialist self-management system, and

made possible the reelection of the presidents and vice presidents of the assemblies of sociopolitical communities [opstinas], the presidents of the assembly chambers, of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and of the Constitutional Court of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The commission for constitutional questions of the Croatian Assembly is now preparing a draft of constitutional amendments which the Assembly will most probably submit for public discussion in April. It is interesting that at the 27 February 1985 meeting of the Croatian Assembly which authorized preparation of the draft, there were quite a few demands that changes be expanded also to other parts of the republic constitution, but the opinion prevailed that action on this not be taken until after a detailed critical analysis is made of the functioning of the political system which is under preparation in the Federal Social Council for Questions of the Social Order.

In Croatia the proposed changes will establish in a new way the constitutional regulations on opstinas; these are no longer being defined as sociopolitical [communities] but exclusively as self-management communities. The proposal to change the electoral base for the Chamber of Associated Labor in the Assembly has encountered serious objections. Namely, up to now only in Croatia has the labor-functional [radno-funkcionalan] principle been adhered to in a certain way in the election of delegates to this chamber. According to the proposal for change in the republic constitution, the electoral base for delegates of the Chamber of Associated Labor in the Croatian Assembly would be the opstina chambers of associated labor. Also anticipated are changes enabling people from management organs to be elected as delegates of these chambers.

Ante Jakic of the "Jugovinil" enterprise in Split said that nothing will be essentially changed unless the relation toward the delegate system is fundamentally changed. Self-management should be returned to the self-managers, and thus it would be more acceptable if the workers councils were the delegations, instead of having special delegations elected to the Chamber of Associated Labor as is the case now, he said. "If we are already electing the best [people] to the workers councils, then there is justification that these best people would also be the delegate base."

Delegate Jakic was joined by Mirko Klepac from the "Oriolik" enterprise in Oriovac and Marjan Smoljan from "Boris Kidric" in Zadar, i.e., delegates from associated labor who are openly fearful that delegates of the Chamber of Associated Labor, elected in the proposed way, will become "couriers" of the opstina structures. In any case, public discussion will show whose views will be acceptable to the broadest delegate base.

The proposal to extend the term of the presidents of the Assembly, of the Croatian Republic Presidency, and of the Croatian Constitutional Court was passed without comment. They would be elected for 2 years, with the possibility of reelection for an additional 2 years. The president of the executive council of the Croatian Assembly would be elected for 4 years without the present possibility for reelection after 2 years.

Similar changes are being suggested also in Montenegro, with a similar explanation; namely, functionaries cannot in the present 1-year term become involved in all the problems of the sociopolitical community.

All these changes show that the first cautious demands [for change] in republican constitutions are being made--demands which practice has made necessary. For the other [republics] the "green light" [for changes] is expected just when the critical analysis of the functioning of the political system is being completed and when the commission in the Federal Social Council for Questions of the Social Order has offered some concrete solutions.

CSO: 2800/275

YUGOSLAVIA

BORBA COMMENTS ON ZERI I POPULLIT ARTICLE

AU162200 [Editorial Report] Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 12 March 1985 on page 2 carried a 2,000-word article by Zoran Mandzuka entitled "Under the Magnifying Glass: About Slanders and Untruths," which refers to a ZERI I POPULLIT article that appeared "at the end of February." Mandzuka cites the assertion that no slanderous attacks will divert Albania from "carrying out the tasks" that belong to it, and sees in it "another confirmation that any internal disagreement in the Albanian leadership itself--disagreement tragically reflected in Enver's incessant purges--as a rule increases the degree of tension against Yugoslavia."

Mandzuka mentions that the article in the Albanian party paper has been distributed by Albanian missions in foreign countries, "even in Belgrade." He quotes "slanders" from the article and stresses that it explicitly asserts that there can be no change in Albanian policy.

"Here we are talking precisely about changes," Mandzuka says. Yugoslavia "bases its vision of good-neighborliness in part on the conviction that changes are natural and that--really perceived and taken into consideration--they cannot constitute an obstacle to the development of comprehensive cooperation. There has been no change in this Yugoslav attitude; it is consistent and regularly confirmed in practice.

"On the other side, however, the Albanian attitude changed too frequently, and it frequently oscillated between 'stressing the advantages' of alliance with one another or a third country," and in the case of Yugoslavia "confirmed the fact that even the interpretations of the differences may be different."

Mandzuka contrasts a recent speech by Ramiz Alia and "the widely published slanders" in Enver Hoxha's book "The Titoities" with Stance Dolanc's speech in Pristina and with other indications of "readiness to improve Yugoslav-Albanian relations," such as a delegation sent to the opening of the Albanian part of the railroad to Titograd, the road transportation talks, and the trade which amounted to \$88.3 million in 1984. Yugoslavia is also "prepared to continue" the cultural cooperation talks "on a reciprocal basis."

Mandzuka believes that experience "unequivocally confirms that Yugoslavia and Albania in their mutual relations realized and achieved their interests and strivings most completely precisely at times when each of them moved toward

its goals along its own roads, building up its own integrity. Interdependence has of course not been exhausted in this way. Certain moves of Albania--as this latest--are in sharp contrast with this realization, and they pose the question of relations, interests, and differences, and the question of the purpose of the contradiction--very prominently evident lately--between Albania's principles and some of its practical steps.

"The contradictions are manifold and they seem to be difficult to explain with rational elements. They can be approached more easily if one bears in mind the variety of the phases through which Albanian policy, both toward the neighbors and toward general international affairs, has passed. The roots can also be searched for--as we have said--in the peculiarities of Albanian foreign and internal political events.

"Resisting everything that is not Albanian and erecting walls against the outside world, official Tirana is deciding to remain outside the processes of world politics, and at the same time the various tribulations in internal development are regularly accompanied with big cadre changes, and a greater frequency and intensity of attacks by Albanian leaders against our country always emanates from them."

Mandzuka says that such attacks "have a double negative effect. They are, first, contrary to the interests of two neighboring and socialist countries in whose cooperation the very determination to protect one's independence and autonomy forms a firm foundation for overcoming mistrust and for advancing relations. Furthermore, these attacks also do not accord with the demands of the time, for even a superficial analysis of the motives, the essence, and the goals of such Albanian attacks on Yugoslavia shows that they objectively support the logic and the strivings of those who are interested in undermining the stability and threatening the security not only of Yugoslavia but also of Albania.

"Yugoslavia and the LCY have always stressed their readiness to make a full contribution to the restoration and strengthening of the fullest friendly cooperation with Albania and the AWP which undoubtedly would be both mutually beneficial and in the best interest of the peoples of the two countries, and in this wary--inevitably--in the interest of wider, progressive changes of the state of relations in the Balkans and in Europe," Mandzuka concludes.

CSO: 2800/267



YUGOSLAVIA

PRISTINA RADIO ON ALBANIAN ANTI-SFRY PROPAGANDA

AU201450 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 19 Mar 85

[Pristina Radio-Television commentary]

[Excerpts] In the propaganda of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and in the speeches made by that country's highest leaders during the past 2 weeks, a new tide of anti-Yugoslav venom [mellef] has been let loose, couched in the terms of the well-known Enverite-Stalinist vocabulary. This tide was preceded by article in ZERI I POPULLIT, the organ of the AWP, which repeated the absurd accusations concerning the Yugoslav leadership's supposed constant interference in Albania's internal affairs. It is, however, an undeniable fact that by interfering in our internal affairs and by supporting the counter-revolutionary aims of the Albanian nationalists and irredentists, the Albanian leadership has for years on end made open territorial claims, thus violating the sovereignty and integrity of our country.

Events may be distorted and their witnesses may be partially liquidated, as happens in Albania, but history cannot be changed or reconceived every 4-5 years. In the escalation of its blind nationalistic and chauvinistic policy, the Albanian leadership is revealing its own Great-State aspirations with regard to the Albanians in Yugoslavia, and is conditioning its neighborly cooperation, which is declarative but insincere and unsubstantiated, supposedly on the attitude of Yugoslav official organs toward the Albanians in our country. This means in effect that official Albania, with which self-managing and nonaligned Yugoslavia desires to cooperate on the basis of the well-known principles of mutual respect, independence, territorial integrity, and noninterference in each other's internal affairs, is making its cooperation with our country conditional on our attitude to the class enemies, to the nationalists and irredentists, whose fundamental aim is, as is well known, the destruction of socialist self-managed Yugoslavia, for which the best sons of our nations and nationalities, including those of the Albanian nationality in Yugoslavia have shed their blood. Yugoslavia and the community of equal nations and nationalities, and primarily the Albanians in this country, will never permit any paternalism of the Enverite type or any interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state, such as Yugoslavia, whose preservation and progress the Albanians in Yugoslavia are also interested in. Since the Albanians in Yugoslavia are their own masters and members of the Yugoslav community of equal nations and nationalities, an equality that is guaranteed

by the program of the LCY, the Constitution, and our daily common life, they cannot be qualified as second- and third-class citizens, as is claimed in the ZERI I POPULLIT article. Nor can threats work against them, which the Albanian leadership is using with regard to the Yugoslav leadership and the Albanians in Yugoslavia. Their thesis about the supposed denationalization of the Albanians in Yugoslavia appears to us to be even more absurd, an attribute that is in fact an integral part of the Enverite policy toward minorities in Albania.

The second attack in this anti-Yugoslav series was heard from Ramiz Alia, the second man in Albania, at a meeting held in Tirana [words indistinct]. Finally, Bujar Hoxha, one of the ideologues and propagandists of the AWP, presented himself in a long anti-Yugoslav article. Although a professor, he did not hesitate to falsify historical facts, particularly those pertaining to the period of the National Liberation War when, as is known, the relations between our two parties and our two national liberation movements was characterized by sincere and fraternal sentiments, and the internationalist spirit of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in aiding the founding and development of the Communist Party of Albania and the antifascist movement in general. It is a fact, although the Albanian leadership and the writer of the article are trying to conceal this, that during a period of instability, vacillation, and opportunism by a part of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Albania, several changes occurred in its attitude toward Balli Kombetar [Albanian noncommunist wartime organization]. Instead of working intensively with the masses and explaining to them its national liberation antifascist aims, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Albania wasted considerable and valuable time in numerous talks and negotiations with the Balli Kombetar leaders. To deny the contribution made by the delegates of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia for the correct development of the revolutionary trends in Albania at that time, a contribution about which Enver and company at one time spoke publicly, admiringly, and gratefully, is nothing but being two faced.

Contrary to this behavior by the Albanian leadership, which is a constant element in its anti-Yugoslav policy and its endeavors to sow chauvinistic hatred against the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia, the Yugoslav leadership, remaining loyal to the principles of its policy of nonalignment and good neighborliness, has always kept the doors open to all-round cooperation with Albania, which could be of value to security and peace in the Balkans and in Europe. We rightly expect a similar readiness on the part of Albania, which must prove it by deeds.

CSO: 2800/267

YUGOSLAVIA

BRIEFS

SFRY PRESIDENCY SESSION--Belgrade Television Service in Serbo-Croatian at 1830 GMT on 30 January carries a 45-second video report on the SFRY Presidency session on that day, which was chaired by Veselin Djuranovic and discussed the visit of the Mexican president and some cadre questions in the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs. The Presidency members are shown sitting at the usual round table in their usual room, clockwise: Josip Vrhovec, Stane Dolanc, Branko Mikulic, Radovan Vlahovic, Veselin Djuranovic, secretary Muhamed Berberovic, Ali Sukrija, Lazar Mojsov, Nikola Ljubicic, and Sinan Hasani. Foreign Secretary Raif Dizdarevic and Milka Planinc, president of the Federal Executive Council, are also shown attending the session. [Editorial Report]

STANKOVIC-CLERGYMAN MEETING--Belgrade, 21 Mar (TANJUG)--Zivomir Stankovic, chairman of the Serbian Executive Council Commission for Relations with Religious Communities, today received Jovan Lorencin, president of the main board of the Christian Adventist Church in Yugoslavia. In the talks, both sides expressed the desire to develop relations between the state organs and the Adventist Church in the Socialist Republic of Serbia on the basis of the constitution and the law. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1446 GMT 21 Mar 85 LD]

REPORTS ON BULGARIAN LANGUAGE PUBLICATIONS--Nis, Eastern Yugoslavia, 21 Mar (TANJUG)--Keeping nationalities informed in their mother tongues is an essential factor of their equal national rights and by reason of this a special attention is attached to it in Yugoslavia. The BRATSTVO (Brotherhood) newspaper publishing house has been successfully dealing with publishing in the Bulgarian language in Nis, Republic of Serbia, eastern Yugoslavia, for over three and a half decades now. In addition to a weekly of the same name intended for ethnic Bulgarians in Yugoslavia, BRATSTVO publishes a newspaper for children and a periodical for literature, science and social political questions. Up to now BRATSTVO has published 80 editions in Bulgarian to affirm the creativity of ethnic Bulgarians as well as of other peoples and nationalities in Yugoslavia. President Tito's three books, dealing with self-management, national questions and non-alignment, were printed in Bulgarian. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG in English 0225 GMT 21 Mar 85 LD]

DEFENSE SECRETARIAT GROUP VISITS KOSOVO--Pristina, 22 Mar (TANJUG)--At the presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, final talks were

reported to have been held today with a working group of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, which, led by Colonel General Veljko Kadijevic, assistant federal secretary, spent 2 days in Kosovo. The talks, in which representatives of interested economic organizations of the province also participated, dealt with cooperation between Kosovo collectives and the Yugoslav People's Army. The assessment was that this cooperation has so far been very fruitful and that real conditions exist to expand and deepen it further. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1540 GMT 22 Mar 85 LD]

APPOINTMENTS IN PUBLISHING--[no placename as received], 20 Mar (TANJUG)--The Presidency of the Vojvodina SAWP's Provincial Conference at today's session relieved of duty Vitomir Sudarski, hitherto director of 'Dnevik' Publishing House, because of his new appointment as director of the 'Komunist' Publishing House. The Presidency of the Vojvodina SAWP's appointed Jovan Smederevac, present chief and executive editor of 'Dnevnik,' acting director of 'Dnevnik,' Newspaper Publishing and Printing Work Organization. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1531 GMT 20 Mar 85 LD]

DIZDAREVIC RECEIVES NEW PLO ENVOY--Belgrade, 18 Mar (TANJUG)--Raif Dizdarevic, federal secretary for foreign affairs, today received Nimr Hammad, new head of the PLO mission in Belgrade. In a long cordial conversation the two sides discussed topical issues and the latest peace initiative in the Middle East, as well as the forthcoming activity of the nonaligned movement in connection with the work of the committee of the eight nonaligned countries. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1559 GMT 18 Mar 85 LD]

DJURANOVIC RECEIVES NEW BRAZILIAN AMBASSADOR--Belgrade--Veselin Djuranovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, yesterday received the credentials of Claudio Garcia de Souza, newly appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Federative Republic of Brazil to the SFRY, and had a friendly talk with the ambassador afterwards. Raif Dizdarevic, federal secretary for foreign affairs, also participated in the talks. [Text] [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 9-10 Mar 85 p 7 AU]

STUDENT RECEIVES 3 YEAR SENTENCE--The Mitrovica court, under Jusuf Myezini, has sentenced to 3 years imprisonment Gani Kadriu, treasurer of the elementary school of the Village of Libovec in the Commune of Serbice, for infractions of the penal code for hostile propaganda, Article No 133, Paragraph 1, of the SFRY Penal Code. The above mentioned individual, in the period 1980-84, tape-recorded songs with a hostile content that aimed at spreading hate between nations and nationalities. Gani Kadriu, in contravention to our self-managing and socialist system, and in the presence of the school's master and other educators, listened to Radio Kukes and Radio Tirana, which inflate the personality of Enver Hoxha, the work of the AWP, and life in Albania. [Text] [Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1825 GMT 18 Mar 85 AU]

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